The University of Chicago

AL-GHAZALI'S AYYUHA 'L-WALAD

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

AL-GHAZÂLI'S SPIRITUAL PILGRIMAGE.

A Moslem tradition says that at the beginning of each century God sends a renewer of the religious life. While there is difference of opinion concerning the receiver of this honor in certain centuries, there is universal agreement that for the fifth century there can be only one name proposed—Abi-Ḥâmad Moḥammed b. Moḥammed al-Ghazâli.[1] In fact, Ibn al-Subki[2] says: "If there had been a prophet after Moḥammed, it surely would have been al-Ghazâli." Another tradition[3] related by Ibn al-Subki is to the effect that the Shaykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shâdhili[4] saw the Prophet, in a dream, and that he was challenging Moses and Jesus with the Imâm al-Ghazâli, and he asked them, "Is there among your peoples any righteous man like him?" And they replied, "No." He has been universally assigned by later Moslems first rank as interpreter of sacred law, theologian, philosopher and scientist. Although he never became a thoroughgoing mystic, yet he brought Ṣûfiism[5] into an accredited place in orthodox Islâm. With his keenness of intellect, depth of learning, and

1 For biographical material, see the Bibliography. For a discussion of the spelling of the name, see article by Macdonald, in JRAS London, 1902, pp. 18-22, where the author advocates the spelling al-Ghazzâli. But in his article in the Encyclopedia of Islam, Macdonald adopts the spelling with a single z. Cf. also Zwemer, footnote p. 64.

2 Abu Naṣr 'Abd al-Wahhâb b. 'Ali b. 'Abd-al-Kâfi Tâj al-Dîn al-Subki, an eminent canon lawyer, born in Cairo 727/1327, d. in Damascus 771/1370. Quoted in Itḥâf al-Sâdah, v. i, p. 9., by Moḥammed al-Ḥusayni al-Zabîdi, known as Al-Sayyid Murtaḍa, (d. 1791), Cairo, 1311 A. H. Al-Sayyid Murtaḍa quotes liberally from al-Subki's Ṭabaqât al-Shâfa'îyah.

3 Ṭabaqât al-Shâfa'îyah, v. iv., p. 131.

4 Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Shâdhili, a Western Moslem Mystic, called by Ibn al-Subki "the lord of his generation and the blessing of his age," d. 1258.

5 See Appended Note on *The "Way" of the Moslem Mystic.*

breadth of experience, he was never carried away by the purely speculative and theoretical; his whole purpose in life became to search out truth wherever the quest led him, to live in absolute loyalty to it himself, and then to make religion for both leaders and populace a living, vital matter of individual experience and practice. He recognized that there were whole realms of thought and fields of investigation into which only the few could penetrate, and for these he still remains a counsellor and guide. But he was essentially practical, and his constant purpose was to vitalize religion so that it should become neither formal adherence to orthodox doctrine, nor philosophical speculation suited to the learned alone, but a matter of daily devotion and life.[6] So complete was his search for truth that he even went so far as to assert that the sincere seeker of truth, even though he be a Jew or a Christian, might gain Paradise, while on the other hand the formal and orthodox Moslem, not committed to this search, might lose the coveted boon.

It is not possible here to enter into a discussion of the life of al-Ghazâli, or of his contribution to theological and philosophical thought; it must suffice to call attention briefly to his religious struggle, so that we may appreciate the uniqueness of his spiritual pilgrimage. And first, as giving a clue to his attitude throughout the whole of his life, I translate from his own spiritual autobiography, a small section : [7]

> From the days of my adolescence, before the age of twenty and until now when I am over fifty, I have dashed into the tumult of this deep sea, and have plunged into its difficulties, the diving of the fearless, not the diving of the cautious coward; and I have penetrated deeply into every darkness; I have attacked every obscurity; I have plunged into every dilemma; I have examined the dogma of every party and uncovered the secrets of the way of every sect, in order to distinguish between the right and the wrong, and between the traditionalist and the heretic. I do not meet any Bâṭani except I long to study his secrets, nor any Ẓâhiri except I desire to know the total of his

6 The charge that he taught secret esoteric doctrines has been ably refuted by Macdonald (JAOS, pp. 125 ff). Nor do I agree with Zwemer (p. 234) that "the teaching of al-Ghazâli was intended not for the masses, but for the initiates." For his return to public life in Naysabur was inspired by his realization that the masses were neglecting religion because of the indifference of their leaders, and his hope that he could reach the masses through a revitalized leadership. (See al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalâl, pp. 37 f.). And he wrote Badâyat al-Hidâyah for the masses. See the sectionon "The Greater Value of His Later Writings," in this Introduction.

7 Al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalâl, Cairo, N. D., p. 3.

> disclosures, nor any philosopher except I purpose the attainment of the real essence of his philosophy, nor any theologian except I endeavor to study the object of his teaching and disputation, nor any Ṣûfi except I crave to become acquainted with the secret of his mysticism, nor any worshipper except I watch attentively what gain follows from his worship, nor any unbelieving atheist except I spy upon him to perceive the causes of his unbelief and atheism. And the thirst to comprehend realities has been my habit and practice from the earliest period of my life.

This thirst to comprehend realities led him first to discard authority (تقليد) as a basis of knowledge; then after a brief period of philosophical scepticism,[8] into an examination of the doctrines and tenets of the four parties he found in the Islam of his day, namely : the scholastic theologians; the philosophers; the Ta'lîmites, who held that to reach truth one must have an infallible living Imâm, or teacher; and finally the Mystics or Ṣûfis. He devoted several years to the study of these sects, summing up his conclusions in each case in various writings which are still recognized as authoritative.[9] The outcome was that he became convinced that only in the way of the Ṣûfis did there lie any hope of reaching ultimate truth.

And now he faced the great spiritual crisis of his life.[10] He was an Imâm in Baghdâd, holding a position of renown and glory, surrounded by students who honored and respected him. But he was too honest and clear visioned to think he could retain his position and at the same time follow the Mystic way; this was not the way of abstract knowledge, but the way of experience, not of instruction, but of practice. But how could he renounce all he had attained in life, and now when he was nearing forty, start on his perilous venture ? And yet, he says :

8 This period, according to his own words, lasted only two months, and is surely over-emphasized by Macdonald.

9 Probably the following writings are the product of this period of his life :
- Growing out of his study of theology
  - *al-Risâlat al-Qudsîya*
  - *al-Iqtiṣâd fi 'l-I'tiqâd*
- Growing out of his study of philosophy
  - *Maqâṣid al-Falâsifa*
  - *Tahâfut al-Falâsifa*
- Growing out of his study of the Ta'lîmites
  - *al-Mustaẓhiri fi radd 'ala 'l-Bâṭinîya*
  - *Ḥujjat al-Ḥaqq*
  - *al-Qisṭâs al-Mustaqîm*
  - *Mawâhim al-Bâṭinîya*

10 See Appended Note on *The "Way" of the Moslem Mystic*, for a translation of an additional section of the Munqidh.

I looked at my works..... and lo I was striving after knowledge that was unimportant and useless with regard to the world to come. Then I considered my purpose in study, and lo, it was not sincerely for the face of Allah,[11] but its instigator and mover was search for glory and the spread of renown. And I became convinced that I was on the brink of a crumbling bank, and that I was looking upon the fire of hell, if I did not labor to change my condition.

The struggle continued for six months,[12] with al-Ghazâli saying one day that the whole matter was folly and a delusion of Satan, the next that there was no escape from putting his new conviction to the test; the conflict between the attractions of this world and the summons of the other world was intense. Finally,

"the matter passed beyond the bound of choice to compulsion, in that God locked my tongue till it was bound, so that I could not teach."

He became severely ill, so that the doctors said,

"This is a matter arising in the mind which has come to affect the physical organism, and it can be healed only by rest of mind from the case which has befallen it."

So at last he made the surrender, and turned to God,

"and he 'who answers the driven when he calls'[13] made it easy for me to withdraw from honor and wealth and family and friends."

So al-Ghazâli resigned from his position as teacher and Imâm, and left Baghdad, announcing his intention of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. Then follows a period of ten years of withdrawal from public life, during which time he visited Syria, Palestine, Arabia and Egypt. He began to put into practice the life of the Ṣûfi, giving himself entirely to the thought of God. I cannot pause to describe his experiences in detail. Suffice it to say that he found peace, and came to the firm conviction that only in the path of the Mystic lay the way to God. And he says:

"And I know for a certainty, "that the Ṣûfis alone walk in the way of God the Exalted, and that their mode of life is the best mode, their path the most sure path, and their characteristics the purest of characteristics."

11 That is, for the sake of Allah alone. The meaning of "the face of Allah" is fully discussed in Macdonald, Aspects of Islam, pp. 186 ff., p. 201 f.

12 The conflict left so deep an impression on his mind that when he wrote the *Munqidh*, nearly fifteen years later, he still remembered the date when the struggle began, and fixes it as the month of Râjab, 488.

13 Qur'ân 27:63.

Here is portrayed the struggle of a soul to find God, so real and vivid as to leave no doubt of its sincerity and depth. His conversion was real[14] and its effects lasting. The impression made on one who knew him after his return to Naysabur is told in the following words:[15]

However much he met of contradiction and attack and slander, it made no impression on him, and he did not trouble himself to answer his assailants. I visited him many times, and it was no bare conjecture of mine that he, in spite of what I saw in him in time past of maliciousness and roughness towards people, and how he looked upon them contemptuously through his being led astray by what God had granted him of ease in word and thought and expression, and through the seeking of rank and position, had come to be the very opposite and was purified of these strains. And I used to think that he was wrapping himself in the garment of pretense, but I realized after investigation that the thing was the opposite of what I had thought, and that the man had recovered after being mad.

After spending ten years in retirement, al-Ghazâli returned to public life in Naysabur again for a short time, but soon retired to Ṭûs where he had charge of a monastery and training school for Ṣûfis, until his death occurred in 505 A.H. (1111 A.D.). Every moment of his life was filled with study and devotion and instructing seekers after truth in the way in which he had himself found truth and peace.

Surely even such a brief sketch as this is sufficient to justify the conclusion that anything from his pen is worthy of the study of anyone who desires to know Islâm at its best. The sincerity and reality of his spiritual pilgrimage mark him as one of the saints of all time, worthy of the study of any seeker after God, in any land.

THE GREATER VALUE OF HIS LATER WRITINGS.

While any book of al-Ghazâli is worthy of study, a peculiar value attaches to those produced in his later years, for they can reasonably be supposed to represent his conclusions and reflect his spiritual experiences in his search for truth. If his earlier works are of value as summarizing the tenets and doctrines of the various theological and philosophical

14 The story is told (al-Subki, v. iv. p. 104) that while in Damascus he took upon himself the humble task of cleaning the ablution tanks in the Ṣûfi monastery there—he who had been the great Imâm behind whom thousands had ranked themselves in Baghdâd to perform the daily prayers.

15 SM vol. I, p. 8, quoting the account of al-Subki (v. iv, pp. 108-109). I copy the translation of Macdonald, JAOS 1899, p. 105.

schools of his day, with his own judgment upon their insufficiency, his later works present the philosophy of life and the "end of the matter" after "all has been heard".[16] With reasonable certainty we can place after his flight from Baghdad the following:

al-Mustasfa fî 'Usûl al-Fiqh, completed on 6th of Muharram 503.[17]
al-Mankhûl[18] *fî 'Usûl al-Fiqh*
Jawâhir al-Qur'ân
Ihyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn, and the books derived or abridged from it; such as, *al-Arba'în, al-Imlâ', Qawâ'id al-'Aqâ'id*, etc.
Kîmiya al-Sa'âdah
Nasîhat al-Mulûk
Badâyat al-Hidâyah
Mîzân al-'Amal
Mishkât al-'Anwâr
al-'Asmâ' al-Husna
Ayyuha 'l-Walad
Fâtihat al-'Ulûm
Khulâsat al-Tasânîf fî 'l-Tasawwuf, written near the end of his life
al-Munqidh min al-Dalâl, written after he was fifty
Minhâj al-'Abidîn, his last work.

A cursory glance at the above list shows them to be of two sorts. First, there are three books dealing with the Qur'ân and jurisprudence (الفقه) ; he had written on this subject before, but his new certainty with regard to verity, and his new conviction of the need of applying the teachings of the Apostle to the daily life of the Muslim impelled him to write again on this subject. Perhaps we find a clue to his reason in the Ihyâ',[19] where he compares the sciences of jurisprudence (الفقه) and medicine (الطب) :

> The former (الفقه) is more honorable than the latter for three reasons; first, because it is a religious science, since it is derived from prophecy in contra-distinction to that, since it is not a religious science; second, because no one who is travelling the "way" of the future world can possibly dispense with it, neither the well nor the sick, while as to medicine, only the sick are in need of it, and they are the minority; third, because the scienc of jurisprudence is near to the science of future things, since it is a consideration of the deeds of the members of the body, and the source of these deeds and their origin is the qualities of the heart; and the praiseworthy deeds originate in praiseworthy character leading to safety in the future life, and blameworthy deeds originate in blameworthy character; and the connection between the members of the body and the heart is not hidden;[20] but health and sickness have their origin in the purification of the humors and the temperament, and they pertain to the qualities of the body, not to the qualities of the heart.

16 Eccl. 12:13.
17 So Ibn Khallikân v. ii, p. 622.
18 So in SM v. i, p. 42. and al-Subki v. iii,, p. 116. Macdonald (JAOS p. 106) spells it Al-Manhûl, Zwemer (p. 301) Al Manqûl !! Al-Subki says this was written during the life of the Imâm al-Haramayn.
19 Ihyâ', v. i, p. 18.

Second, the other books in the group treat almost entirely of Sûfiism and the way of the Mystic. In order to give an idea of the practical character of these writings, I give here the Table of Contents of two of these books, and a summary of the others.[21]

Fâtihat al-'Ulûm [22]

Mîzân al-'Amal [24]

20 See Appended Note on *The Wonders of the Heart*.
21 See also Appended Note on *The Vitalizing of the Sciences of Religion*.
22 Cairo edition, A. H. 1322.
23 For an explanation of these terms, see footnote 3, section xxiv of the Translation.
24 Cairo edition, A. H. 1342.

Al-Asmâ' al-Ḥusna deals with the beautiful names of God (the ninety-nine traditional names of Allah), with the purpose of demonstrating that the highest happiness for the believer lies in imitating these attributes of God.

Mishkât al-'Anwâr is a discussion and esoteric explanation of the Light verse in the Qur'ân, "God is the light of the heavens and the earth. The similitude of His light is as it were a niche where is a lamp, etc."[25] Of the writings we have listed, it is the furthest removed in its bearing and application from the practical religious life.

Kîmiya al-Sa'âdah is thus summarized by Gardener :[26] "On the nature of man; a man must know his own soul and its needs; what he was created for; wherein his true happiness consists; wherein his misery lies; in order that he may know God. Only in a true knowledge of God can he find a means of changing his evil character into a good character. The Alchemy of Happiness is to be found only in the store-house of God."

I have already referred to and quoted from the ***Munqidh;*** there remain[27] two other short works in which al-Ghazâli in a very definite way sets forth his views on the religious life. They are the *Badâyat al-Hidâyah,* and, *Ayyuha 'l-Walad.*

Badâyat al-Hidâyah is a primer of religion and ethics for the populace, containing "what is essential for the masses of special care in wirship and usage."[28] Part One deals with outer obedience in matters of ethics and worship; Part Two with inner disobedience of the heart. He declares the second part to be by far the more important and valuable, for anyone can outwardly conform to what is required, but only the truly righteous can avoid lust and passion and prevent his heart from being disobedient to Allah the Exalted. He then discusses briefly the right use

25 Qur'ân 24:35.
26 Al-Ghazâli, Madras, 1919, p. 107.
27 I have not had access to the *Khulâṣat al-Taṣânif*, the *Naṣiḥat al-Mulûk,* or the *Minhaj.*
28 S. M., v. i, p. 41.

of the seven members of the body—eye, ear, tongue, body, sexual parts, hand and foot. Then follows a long section on the purifying of the heart from envy, hypocricy, and boastful pride. The last section deals with the ethics of companionship with Creator and creature. All in all it is a very simple handbook of practical ethics covering the beginning of guidance in the right path, for the ignorant and unlearned. To one familiar with the depths of the ignorance of the masses in Islâm, it is remarkable to find such a learned Shaykh as al-Ghazâli interested in preparing a treatise in simple language, with the purpose of making the religious life vital and real to even the most ignorant.

THE PECULIAR WORTH OF AYYUHA 'L-WALAD :29

The second book *Ayyuha 'l-Walad* was written in reply to the question of a learned shaykh who says he has spent his life in the study of all branches of knowledge, and as he approaches the grave he does not know what pertains only to this world, and what is of value in the future life. In this treatise, in contrast with *Badâyat al-Hidâyah*, al-Ghazâli is dealing with an educated man, whose technical knowledge of the religious sciences of Islâm is great. He therefore emphasizes the importance of work befitting his knowledge. Thus he says,

> O youth..... be assured that knowledge alone does not strengthen the hand..... Though a man read a hundred thousand scientific questions and understood them or learned them, but did not work with them—they do not benefit him except by working. .. Knowledge is the tree, and working is its fruit; and though you studied a hundred years and assembled a thousand books, you would not be prepared for the mercy of Allah the Exalted except by working. 30

And again,

> Faith is confession with the tongue and belief with the heart and work with the members of the body. 31
>
> So long as you do not work, you do not find a reward.32

29 *The Date of Ayyuha 'l-Walad*—The following data help in fixing the date: There are in it frequent references to the Iḥyâ' so that it was later than the Iḥyâ'. It was written in reply to the request of a shaykh who had spent his life in study. It was written in Persian, which suggests that he was a Persian, rather than an Arab. Undoubtedly this is one of al-Ghazâli's latest writings. I venture to suggest that it was probably written while al-Ghazâli was teaching in Naysabur, or even during his last years in Tûs.

30 Section V, Translation.

31 Section V, Translation.

32 Section VI, Translation.

And surely here is a biographical touch:

> How many nights you have remained awake repeating science and poring over books, and have denied yourself sleep! I do not know what the purpose of it was. If it was attaining worldly ends and securing its vanities, and acquiring its diginities and surpassing your contemporaries, and such like, woe to you and again woe; but if your purpose in it was the vitalizing of the Law of the Prophet, and the training of your character, and breaking the soul commanding to evil, then blessed are you and again blessed. 33
>
> So what have you gained from the acquisition of the science of dogmatic theology and from disputation and medicine and "diwans" and poetry and astronomy and prosody and syntax and etymology except squandering life.34

His conviction that knowledge is of value only as it leads to fruitage in life may be readily seen from such statements as these:

> Knowledge without work is insanity, and work without knowledge is vanity. Know that any science which does not remove you today far from apostasy, and does not carry you to obedience, will not remove you tomorrow from the fire of Hell.35
>
> If knowledge alone were sufficient for you and you did not need work besides, then would his summons—Is there any who asks? and is there any who seek forgiveness? and is there any who repents?—be lost without profit.36
>
> The substance of knowledge is to learn what are obedience and worship. 37

He has declared in the *Munqidh*38 that he is convinced that only the Ṣûfis know the secret of the true way to attain verity and nearness to Allah. Yet in the *Munqidh* he also declares39 that among the four causes of the neglect of religion and a lukewarmness of faith, one arose among those specializing in the path of the Ṣûfi. Here, along with a constant emphasis on the indispensable character of the Ṣûfi way of life, he condemns the excesses into which Ṣûfis are led, and the vagaries of their "ecstatic utterances" and "vehement cries." For example, he says,

> It is essential that you be not deceived by the ecstatic utterances and vehement cries of the Ṣûfis, because walking this

33 Section VII, Translation.

34 Section IX, Translation.

35 Section X, Translation.

36 Section XII, Translation.

37 Section XV, Translation.

38 p. 30

39 p. 37.

road is by struggle and cutting off the lusts of the soul and killing its desires with the sword of discipline, not by vehement cries and idle words. 40

On the other hand, he sets forth the true nature of Ṣûfîism in these words :

> Know that becoming a Ṣûfi has two characteristics : uprightness with Allah the Exalted, and quietness with mankind; and whoever is upright with Allah and improves his character among the people, and treats them with forbearance, he is a Ṣûfi. 41

And again, he names four necessary qualities of the Ṣûfi :

> first, a true conviction that has in it no heresy; second, a sincere repentance, after which you do not return to sin; third, the satisfaction of adversaries, so that there shall remain to no one a claim against you; and fourth, the attainment of a knowledge of the laws, sufficient that you perform the commands of Allah the Exalted.42.

In later sections he discusses the various "Stages" of the Ṣûfi, devotion, trust, sincerity, and the like. And to each of these he gives an interpretation applicable to everyday life.

Finally he admonishes the shaykh concerning eight matters, four to avoid and four to follow. 43 The four he is to avoid are : disputation, except it be in a sincere desire to have truth uncovered whether by him or his opponent; second, preaching, unless his purpose be that for his hearers "the qualities of their inner lives shall change and the deeds of their outer lives be transformed"; third, mixing with Sultâns and princes; and fourth, accepting gifts and presents from princes. The four things he is to follow are : first, "make year dealings with Allah the Exalted such that if your servant acted thus with you, you would be pleased with him"; second, "whenever you deal with people, treat them as you would be pleased to be treated by them"; third, in the study of science, "it must be a science which improves your heart and purifies your soul"; fourth, "do not gather from the world more than the sufficiency of a year." 44

Surely in this treatise al-Ghazâli is revealed as a very practical Mystic. On the one hand, he has no hard-and-fast mechanically fixed

40 Section XVI, Translation.
41 Section XIX, Translation.
42 Section XVII, Translation.
43 Section XXIII, Translation.
44 Section XXIV, Translation.

path of "Stages" to be attained, and of "States" to be bestowed; on the other hand he openly and strongly condemns the exuberant vehemencies of an artificial ecstasy. He emphasizes the objectives of Ṣûfîism in the old ascetic terms of renunciation of the worldly soul and its desires, and states its ideals, and the proof of its reality and sincerity, to lie in seeking uprightness with God, and a daily life of fruitful conduct and service. But out of his experience, first his critical doubt and uncertitude, then his continued study and meditation, and finally and more especially his own practice of this Mystical way, he became convinced that he had learned the way to reality, the path to God. And his conclusions are set forth in this treatise, written near the end of his life, *Ayyuha 'l-Walad*.

Summary.

Perhaps I can summarize conclusions as follows : The honor and respect in which al-Ghazâli is held in the whole Moslem world make any of his writings of interest to the student of Islâm. The sincerity and reality of his spiritual pilgrimage in the search for truth put him among the saints of God and make a knowledge of his experiences of value to anyone who is as he a seeker after truth. Although the theological and philosophical works of his earlier years are authoritative and important, yet peculiar interest is attached to the products of his meditation and study in the years following the spiritual crisis in his life which convinced him that the way of the Ṣûfi was the only sure approach to God. Among these, *Ayyuha 'l-Walad* is highly valuable, because : (a) it is one of his very latest books; (b) it was written to a learned shaykh,45 himself fully informed in the various disciplines of learning; (c) it reveals his conviction as to wherein lies the value of knowledge; (d) it gives his interpretation of the meaning of Ṣûfîism and his conclusions as to the superiority of the practice of the "Way", rather than indulgence in ecstasy; (e) it reveals the character of al-Ghazâli in its maturity; (f) it sets forth an ideal for an inner religious life issuing in the fruitage of good works, and far removed from formalism in worship and the acceptance of a stereotyped creed. He represents religion as the expression of man's inner being, "more than Law and more than Doctrine; it is the Soul's experience"46— an ideal yet seldom realized in Islâm.

45 See Section I, footnote 6, of the Translation.
46 DeBoer, p. 168.

PART ONE

MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT

I. LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED TEXTS CONSULTED

In determining the text of this opuscule of al-Ghazâli, I have had access to the following manuscripts and printed texts, which are referred to throughout this dissertion by the number or letter preceding each :

Manuscripts of Text 1

1. Vienna2 1841—Das Buch O Kind! von dem eben erwahnten grossen mystichen Sheich und Imam Zein-ad-Dîn Abû Ḥâmid Muḥammad al-Ghazâlî mit dem Beinamen Ḥuddchat al-islam, der am 14 Dschumâdâ II 505 (19 Dec. 1111) starb. Beides, Text und Übersetzung dieser ethischen Abhandlung, wurde vom Hammer-Purgstall Wien 1838 herausgegeben und daselbst in der Einleitung S. ix-xvii die Lebenschreibung des Verfassers mitgetheilt. Der Codex beginnt Bl. 1 v : الحمد لله رب المالين والعاقبة للمتقين und schliesst Bl. 13v. 13 Bl. Octav, gegen 7½ Z. hoch, gegen deutlich, Stichworter und Einfassung roth. Gut erhalten, nur das zwi-5Z. breit, Papier hellgelb, Naschî zu 17 Zeilen, ziemlich gefällig und schen jedem Worte sich ein rother Strich befindet.—Cypressenband—

2. Dresden3 172—Cod. mixtus foll. 208, 4°, variis characteribus, sed tamen maximam parten nestha'liq scriptus, continens Collectanea et

1 In the list of MSS. I have quoted the descriptions of the various manuscripts exactly as they are described in the various official catalogs of the Libraries concerned.

2 Die Arabischen, Persichen und Türkischen Handschriften der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hofbibliothek zu Wien. (Flugel) 1867.

3 Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium Bibliothecae Regiae Dresdensis (Fleischer) Lipsiae MDCCCXXXI.

prosaica et metrica............ 7) f. 92v.—99v. Tractatus paraeneticus Abû-'Hâmid Mu'hammed Ibn-Mu'hammed El-Ghazâlii ad aliquem discipulorum, qui propter allocutionem ab auctore frequentatatm Ejjuhâ-'l-waled inscribi solet, arabice.

3. Dresden 201—Cod. arab. foll. 184, 4°, char. neschi scriptus 4) f. 128v—152r. Tractatus Ejjuhâ'l-waled, auctore El-Ghazâlî.

4. Berlin[4] 3975—Titel fehlt. er ist رسالة أيها الولد Am Rande und zwischen den Zeilen Glossen. Anfang f. 30b. الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين Die vorliegende Abhandlung, nach dem Anfang der Hauptsatze mit أيها الولد betitelt, ist von Abu Hamid elgazzâlî....................8 vo. 12Z (20½ x 16) (13 x 6½–7 cm) — Zustand, nicht ohne Flecken—Papier: gelb, glatt, ziemlich dünn — Einband: Pappbd. mit Kattunrücken. Schrift: grober türkischer Zug, nicht leicht zu lesen, vocallos. — Abschrift vom. J. 1119/1707.

5. Berlin 3976-1) — 8 Bl. 8vo. 19Z (20½ x 11½) (14½ x 7 cm) Zustand, nichtganz sauber. Papier, gelb. glatt, dünn; Einband, Pappband mit Ledderrücken. Schrift, Persicher Zug, klein, gefällig, vocallos, aft auch ohne diakritische Punkte. Stichwörter roth.—Abschrift c. 1000/1591.

6. Berlin 3976-2)—8vo. 13Z (20½ x 14) (12½ x 8 cm) Zustand nicht ganz sauber und ziemlich fleckig. Schrift, Türkische Hand, ziemlich gross, gut, gleich-mässig, vocallos. Das Stichwort أيها الولد roth.—Abschrift um 1100/1688.—Zwischen den Zeilen (auch am Rande) stehen öfters Türkische Glossen in kleiner Schrift.

7. Berlin 3976-3)—98 Bl., 8vo. 17Z (21¼x 14½) (15½ x 8cm) Zustand, ziemlich gut. Papier, gelblich, stark, glatt. Schrift, gross, kräftig, rundlich, deutlich, etwas vocalisert. Das Stichwort ايها الولد roth. Abschrift von سيد محمد بن حسين in Jahr 1111/1700.

8. Berlin 3976-4)—8vo. 21Z. (Text 14-15 x 10cm) Titel fehlt. Der Schluss (wie bei 3975) steht f. 58b am Rande. f59a ist Wiederholung von 58a. Schrift, ziemlich klein, etwas rundlich, vocallos. Abschrift c. 1150/1737.

4 Katalog die Handschriften verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin (Ahlwardt) Berlin 1891.

9. Berlin 3976-5)—8vo. 17Z, (20½ x 14½) (13 x 7¾cm) Titel fehlt. 130a von späterer Hand. Schrift, Türkische Hand, ziemlich gross, kräftig, vocallos. Bl. 130 erganzt. Am Rande und zwischen den Beilen, viele Glossen. Abschrift c. 1750.

10. Berlin 3976-6)—64 Bl. 8vo. 19-20Z (15½ x 10½cm) Zustand, braunfleckig. Bl. 10 oben ausgebessert. Papier, gelb, ziemlich stark, wenig glatt. Einband, Pappband mit Lederrücken. Titel u. Verfasser fehlt. Schrift von عبد الباقي بن ملا الحاجي درويش um 1186/1772. (So steht f. 63a; die Zahl 1100 abf. f. 60b ist unvollstandig).

11. Berlin 3976-7)—63 Bl. 8vo. 12Z. (15½ x 11) (11½ x 7½cm) Zustand, etwas fleckig, besunten am Rande; Papier, gelb, ziemlich glatt u. stark; Einband, schöner halbfranz-band; Titel u. Verfasser fehlt; Anfang wie bei 3976-9) Schrift, gross, kräftig, deutlich, etwas rundlich, vocallos; Abschrift, um 1200/1785.

12. Berlin 3976-8)—Format etc. und Schrift wie bei 7). Titel überschrift كتاب أيها الولد Abschrift v. J. 1205/1790.

13. Berlin 3976-9)—120 Bl. 11Z. (15 x 10) (10 x 6cm) Zustand, nicht ganz sauber; Papier, weisslich, auch strohgelb, ziemlich stark, etwas glatt; Einband, Pappbd. mit Lederrücken. Titel u. Verf. f. 1a unten: رسالة تاليف الغزالي Anfang f. 1b:... الحمد لله حق حمده والصلوة والسلام على رسوله واولاده Von hier an so wie bei (Berlin 3975). اما بعد فاعلم ان واحد الخ Schrift, ziemlich gross, gefällig, vocallos. Die Stichwörter أيها und اعلم roth. Abschrift um 1220/1805.

14. Berlin 3976-10)—Titel f. 173a: كتاب أيها الولد Das Vorhandene schliesst f. 190b: واصرف عنا شر الاشرار واعتق (s. bei Berlin 3975); es fehlen nur wenige Zeilen.

15. Berlin 3976-11)—Titel fehlt. Der Schluss f. 60a mit dem Gebet etwas abgekürzt. Bl. 60 von anderer Hand ergänzt.

16. Berlin 3976-12)—Titel fehlt. Bl. 61b-64a leer; f. 64b — 66b in schräger Richtung einige Verse und ein Kleines Lobegedicht auf Mohammad; 68a ein Stelle aus احياء العلوم

17. Berlin 8915-9) and 3976-13)—(21½ x 15½) (14 x 9½cm) Die Abhandlung des الغزالي die betitelt ist رسالة أيها الولد Der Anfang der Abhandlung steht f. 75a am Rande, der Schluss f. 80b. gleichfalls. Der Schluss weicht etwas ab.

18. Paris[5] 1122. Papier. 100 feuillets. Hauteur 20 centimeters, largeur, 14 centimeters, 15 lingnes par page. MS. de diverses écritures du XVIIe siècle.[6] —3° (Fol. 26 v°.) Le traité d'al-Ghazâlî, avec la préface.

19. Paris 1291. Fragment du traité أيها الولد O mon fils ! épitre dans laquelle Abou Hâmid al-Ghazâli enseigne à un de ses disciples les connaissances qui, seules, peuvent servir pour la vie future. Papier. 2 feuillets. Hauteur 21 centimeters, largeur 15 centimeters. 33 a 35 lignes par page. MS. du XVIe ou du XVIIe siècle.

20. Paris 2351. Papier, 36 feuillets. Hauteur 21 cm., largeur 14 cm. MS. de diverses écritures du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle. —4° (Fol. 33 v°.) Premiers feuillets du أيها الولد d'Abou Hâmid al-Ghazâlî.

21. 2405. Papier. 363 feuillets. Hauteur 21 centimeters, largeur 14 centimeters et demi. Écritures diverses du XVIIe et du XVIIIe siècle. —9° (Fol. 344) Le traité intitulé أيُّها الولد d'Abou Hâmid al-Ghazâlî.

22. Paris 3973. Papier. 189 feuillets. Hauteur 20 cm., largeur 15 cm. Environ 16 lignes par page. —10° (Fol. 112 v°) Le traité أيها الولد d'al-Ghazâlî.

5 Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes par M. le Baron de Slane—Bibliothèque Nationale. Paris 1183-1895.

6 But this MS. reads at the bottom of the last page, f. 38b, تمت في اواخر ذي الحج من اشهور سنة ٩٦٩ ; i.e., about 1563.

23. Paris[7] 4932. Le traité Ayyouha al-valad par Ghazâlî. Neskhi daté de 1090 H. 11 feuillets 22 x 14.5 centimeters.

24. Paris 6394—Recueil de traités de jurisprudence et théologie; le traité intitulé Ayyouha al-walad, de Abou Hâmid Mohammad ibn Mohammad al-Ghazâlî, sur les *adabs* de la vie religieuse (folio 41 verso). Neskhi, copié par Iskandar ibn 'Abd al-Salam, dans la première moité du XIXe siècle. 122 feuillets, 22 sur 18 centimeters.

25. London[8] CXXII — Codex chartaceus forma quadrata minore, ff. 163 : variis constans libellis in unum compactis. Saec. XVII. —IV. Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali ابو حامد محمد بن محمد الغزالي obiit A. H. 505. Tractatus moralis. fol. 40b—66b. Tit. أيها الولد 'O Puer".

26. London DCXXII — Codex chartaceus in 4to. ff. 110: A. H. 1094, A. D. 1687, charactere occidentali exartus. —XIII. Ḥujjat al-Islâm Abû Muḥammad al-Gazzâli. Obiit A. H. 505. حجة الاسلام ابو حامد محمد بن محمد الغزالي Tractatus moralis dictus "O puer" أيها الولد fol. 94a — 103b.

27. MS. in the library of the San Sophia mosque in Constantinople, catalog number 4786.

28. MS. in possession of the writer, purchased in Damascus. 20th century.[9]

Manuscripts of Texts with Commentary.

i. Vienna 1842 (see footnot 2) — شرح الظلمات Die leuchte der Finsternisse, ein arabischer gemischter Commentar zu den ebenerwähnten Abhandlung O. Kind ! von Hasan bin 'Abdallah in J. 756 (1355) verfasst, mit dem Anfange : الحمد لله الذي جعل العلم للانسان فضيلة واعطى بسببه عطية جزيلة الخ Derselbe erklart den vollständig mitgetheilten Text kurz und gut sowohl

7 Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes des Nouvelles Acquisitions—E. Blochet. Paris, 1925.

8 Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico—London, 1846.

9 Since writing this dissertation I have also examined cursorily twelve MSS. in the Egyptian National Library in Cairo.

den Worten wie dem Sinne nach wobei die Grammatik nicht leer ausgeht. Die abschrift vollendete Ḥafiz Muḥammad bin Muḥammad in J. 1228 (1813) — Schluss Bl. 47v. 47 Bl. (Bl. 48 Schmuzblatt) Duodez, gegen 6 Z. hoch, 4¼ Z. breit. Papier, hellgelb. Naschi, nastaʿlîkartig zu 15 Zeilen, gefällig und deutlich, Stichwörter roth. Text roth überstrichen. Gut erhalten.

ii. Vienna 1843. أيها الولد شرحى خــادمي Ein zweiter gemischter arabischer Commentar zu derselben Abhandlung, von Châdimî, dem jedes Vorwort abgeht. Der in neurer zeit aus einer Constantinoplitaner Handschrift copirte und vielleicht nicht viel über 30 Jahre Codex beginnt sogleich mit der Erklärung des Anfangs des Originals : الحمد لله رب العالمين اقتباسَ من اول الفاتحة الخ und schliesst Bl. 64v. mit den Worten : ثم الشرح بالكــلام بعون الله الملك المنعام Es ist ein gemischter Commentar, der den Text ganz giebt und sich vorzugsweise mit Erklärung des Sinnes befasst. 64 Bl. (Bl. 1-3r und 65 and 66 leer). Octav. über 8½ Z. hoch, über 5 Z. breit. Papier hellgelb, Nastaʿlîk zu 25 Zeilen, flüchtig, nicht ungelfällig und deutlich, Stichwörter und Einfassung roth, der Text roth überstrichen. Cypressenband.

iii. Munich[10] 174 Quatr. 20 c.h. 15 c. br. 195 f. 23 lin. 110 b-162 Commentar zur ethischen Abhandlung Ghazzali's ايها الولد 'O Kind !' Derselbe beginnt ohne Vorrede sogleich mit dem commentierten Texte الحمد لله رب العالمين اقتباس من اول الفاتحة فلا افضل منها Unvollständig; die letzten Worte des Textes sind : وكان سوأله للاستفادة لكن بليدا

iv. Berlin 3977-2) (See footnote 4) — Format 31 Z. Text 17 x 7½ cm. Zustand : im Ganzen gut.—Papier, gelblich, ziemlich dünn, glatt.—Einband, Pappband mit Lederrücken und Klappe.—Schrift, Türkische Hand, klein, fast vocallos. Titelüberschrift und Verfasser f. 101a : شرح أيها الولد على نصيحة الغزالي للخادمي Anfang : الحمد لله رب العالمين اقتباس من اول الفاتحة ولا افضل منها Ausführlicher gemischter Commentar des Mohammed al-

10 Die Arabischen Handschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenschen; Joseph Aumer — Munschen 1866.

Khadimi, d. 1160/1747 .... Schluss : f135a. برحمتك يا عزيز يا غفار Abschrift in Jahre 1212 Rabiʿ II (1797)

Printed Texts and Commentaries.

A. Cairo text, contained in volume entitled مجموعات الرسائل pp. 95-124. Maṭbaʿah Kurdistân al-ʿilmîyyah, Cairo, A. H. 1328.

B. Constantinople text, Maṭbaʿah Maḥmûd Bek, Constantinople, A. H. 1324.

C. Commentary of Khâdimi (see nos. ii. and iv above). Maṭbaʿah Maḥmûd Bek, Constantinople, A. H. 1324.

D. Arabic Text contained in Hammer-Purgstall's "O Kind!" Wien, 1838.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

This opuscule of al-Ghazâli, *Ayyuha 'l-Walad,* was written by the author in Persian, and later translated into Arabic. Al-Sayyid Murtaḍa says, "Ayyuha 'l-Walad was written in Persian, and certain of the learned men translated it and called it by this famous name."[1] No Persian manuscript is known to be in existence. In addition to those to which I have had access, some thirty other manuscripts are found in various libraries in Europe—in Bologna, Florence, Madrid, Halle, Tubingen, Strassburg, Leipsig, Leiden, Cambridge, Oxford, and so forth. Some of the difficulties arising in connection with the determination of the original Arabic text, on the basis of an examination of the thirty-two manuscripts of text or commentary available to me, are these :

a. The translation was not made by al-Ghazâli himself, and no Persian manuscript is available for comparison.

b. The earliest manuscripts date from the seventeenth century,[2] except for the MS. 5, dated at about 1591, and MS. 18, which bears the date 969 A.H., or about 1563 A.D. There is thus a period of nearly six centuries between the death of al-Ghazâli, and the date of the earliest manuscript.

c. There is no evidence that any of the existing manuscripts are original translations from the Persian, nor nearly related to them.

d. Many of the manuscripts are undated, and others are dated only approximately.[3] Certain of the manuscripts are signed,[4] or dated,[5] or both,[6] but this gives no clue as to the date of the original manuscript from which these are copied; for a late manuscript may conceivably be tran-

1 S.M., v. i, p. 41.
2 MSS. 6, 19 (?), 20 (?), 23, and 26.
3 MSS. 1, 2, 3, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25.
4 MSS. 16, 24.
5 MSS. 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13, 18, 23, 26.
6 MSS. 7, 10, i, iv.

scribed from a lost copy, which is very much earlier than any existing manuscript.

e. While existing manuscripts are from the hands of Persian,[7] Turkish,[8] and Arabic[9] scribers, this in itself provides no clue as to the date or character of the original manuscripts from which these are copied; for a Persian scribe may have labored in Constantinople, or a Turkish scribe in Baghdad, for instance.

The manuscripts from Persian scribes are few in number. MS. 5 is incomplete, ending in section XXIII with the account of the second group of those whose question it is not necessary to try to answer.[10] It also omits most of the first part of Section XIX, up to the words : "Then know that becoming a Mystic has two characteristics."[11] MS. 7, though seemingly in Arabic penmanship, is probably from a Persian scribe. He signs himself "Sayyid Moḥammed b. Ḥusayn." The use of Sayyid as a title, and the name Ḥusayn, are both characteristic Persian usages. Manuscripts of commentaries furnish little help in determining the text. MS. 2 I have selected as the one to translate, for reasons mentioned below.

The manuscripts from Turkish hands, with the exception of MS. 4, offer a very unsatisfactory Arabic text. Quite evidently the writers possessed a very imperfect knowledge of Arabic. There is considerable evidence that the scribe copied from the dictation of a reader, and was not sure of the words he heard, so that he repreduced the sounds correctly, but not the letters nor the correct nuon or verb forms. For instance, in these manuscripts, such errors as these occur :

Wrongly copied	*Correct form*
تحصيل العلم الطب	تحصيل علم الطب
حاصلك	حاصل لك
مدى	مدة
مسايل	مسائل
قراءة	قرأت
فاستمرة	فاستمرث
نصيحت	نصيحة

7 MSS. 2, 5, 7, i(?). ii.
8 MSS. 4, 6, 9, 10(?), 16(?), 21, 27, iv.
9 MSS. 1, 3, 8, 10 (?), 11 to 15, 16, (?), 17 to 20, 22 to 26, 28, i (?).
10 In our MS., folio 97b., 1. 14.
11 In our MS., folio 96a., l. 17, to folio 96b., l. 14. Probably a page of the original MS. was overlooked.

There remain the manuscripts from Arabic hands. Of these there are first of all a small number which are of little value as aids in determining the text, because of the carelessness with which they are copied, or the incomplete nature of their contents. MS. 8 contains many errors, omissions of words, and duplications of syllables and words. MSS. 10, 11, and 16, though written in Arabic script, possess many of the characteristics of the Turkish manuscripts. MS. 17 is in two scripts, the first four sections and the conclusion being added on the margin in a different hand from the body of the treatise. MS. 19 is incomplete, closing in section XVIII with the quotation from the Qur'ân, "Truly Satan is your enemy; therefore for an enemy hold him."[12] MS. 20 is even less complete, closing with the first few lines of section X.[13] MS. 24 is very late, is much confused, and is of little value.

The remaining manuscripts from Arabic hands are complete, and for the most part grammatically sound. They, together with MSS. 2, 4, 5, and 7, fall into two groups, the manuscripts within each group agreeing in the main, while the groups as a whole differ from each other.[14]

Group One includes MSS. 1,[15] 2, 4, 5, 15, 18, 24, 25 and probably 13 and 26. In Group Two are MSS. 3, 7, 22, 23 and probably 8 and 12. The manuscripts of Group Two are inferior to those of Group One in many respects. They include many emendations and glosses, and a number of unsound grammatical constructions. Also in certain of the more concise and difficult passages they are frequently expanded, edited or modified to remove the seeming difficulty in the text. A more careful study of these two groups might lead to the conclusion that each group is derived from a distinct original or protype. On the other hand, Group Two may represent manuscrips which are derived from Group One; or both may be derived from a single original, the divergence being slight at first and gradually widening. The two Dresden MSS. (nos. 2 and 3 in my list) are excellent representatives of these two groups, and I have noted elsewhere the variations in the introduction to this treatise of al-Ghazâli, in detail.[16]

12 In Arabic, folio 96a, l. 8.
13 In Arabic, folio 94a, l. 14.
14 The manuscripts of Commentaries on this treatise are also from two sources. MSS. i and iii are copies of the earliest commentary, that of Hasan b. Abdallah, who died in 756/1355. MSS. ii and iv are the commentary of al-Khadimi who died in 1160/1747. This latter has been published in Constantinople. While of assistance in preparing the translation, they are of little value in determining the original text of the treatise.
15 This MS. was used by Hammer-Purgstall as the basis for his translation of this treatise into German, and published with the translation, in Vienna in 1838.
16 See last page of this chapter.

From the manuscripts of Group One, which as a group are the best, I have selected MS. 2 to translate, for these reasons :

1. The manuscript is written in excellent Arabic, terse, concise, and gramatically sound.[17]

2. The penmanship gives evidence that it is from the hand of an educated man; there are also few errors of copying, erasures, repetition of syllables, or omissions of essential words or phrases.

3. An examination of the supralinear, sublinear and intralinear glosses show them to be for the most part not corrections of errors, but written by the hand of another than the original scribe, and added to simplify difficult constructions, to complete partial quotations, or to make elliptical phrases less concise.

4. Marginal emendations, written by a different hand, in many cases supply phrases or sentences included in the text in certain other manuscripts, especially MS. 1. One can infer that the emendator had access to this MS. or a copy of it, and sought to bring the text of MS. 2 into agreement with MS.1.

5. This manuscript is written in the nestha'liq script of Persia. Following the end of the text on ff. 99b. and 100a there is copied in the same hand an extract from a Persian Ṣûfi writing, entitled الرسالة القدسية and ascribed لحضرة خواجه محمد بارسا.[18] Since Arabic was the universal language of religion and literature in the Islamic world, while the use of Persian was never widespread, and since this document is written in Persian script, it seems almost certain that the writer of this manuscript was a Persian. Unfortunately there is in the document itself no indication as to his identity nor when he lived. We have no clue in any source concerning the date when *Ayyuha 'l-Walad* was translated from Persian into Arabic, beyond the simple statement of the Sayyid Murtaḍa.[19] It is possible that the scribe who copied this manuscript

17 The errors are negligible : f. 92b., l. 17, w. 5, مسائلق for مسائلي ; f. 94a, l. 9, w. 12, الانجيل عيسى for انجيل عيسى f. 97b., l. 1, w. سعى الاصلاح مرضه for سعى لاصلاح مرضه ; f. 97b., l. 1, ww. 13, 14; والعلماء والاطباء for والعلماء الاطباء for instance.

18 On the margins of ff. 92b, 93a, and 93b there are written definitions of various terms, in Turkish. But these are plainly a different hand than that of the scribe who wrote the Arabic text and the appended Persian note.

19 Quoted in first paragraph of this section about the Manuscripts.

had access to the original translation, or at least a very accurate copy of it. At any rate it seems certain that in the text of this manuscript, without the glosses and marginals emendations we have a very early and accurate Arabic text of this treatise.[20]

Since the text of *Ayyuha 'l-Walad* is already available in printed form,[21] perhaps a word should be said concerning their characteristics and accuracy. Text A (Cairo) is far superior to the other texts. On the whole it is grammatically sound, and it is free from many of the additions and emendations appearing in many of the manuscripts, though there are occasional evident errors. But it shows little evidence of having been based on a careful comparison of various MSS., nor is it as sound nor concise as the text of our MS.

Text B is very imperfect, containing many unsound grammatical constructions, reduplications of words or phrases, inclusion of undoubted marginal emendations and glosses.

Text C contains the text and the commentary of Khâdimi, but there is no statement as to the manuscript on which it is based. The text without commentary printed as an appendix is also unsatisfactory and imperfect.

Text D is based on MS. 1 in our list but it does not follow that MS. in all points. It contains both grammatical and typographical errors on nearly every page. Moreover none of these printed texts claims to be selected after a comparative study of various manuscripts, nor to be an attempt to regain the original text of this work.

On the page immediately following I present a comparison of the variations in the Introduction to *Ayyuha 'l-Walad*, between MSS. 2 and 3. It is impossible to note all the variant readings among the manuscripts, but in the following section, opposite each folio of the manuscript I note a few of the more typical ones.

20 This conclusion is further strengthened by the close agreement in text between this MS. and MS. 18, which is, if its own claim as to date is accepted, our oldest dated MS, and MS. 5, the next oldest MS.

21 See *List of Manuscripts and Texts*. It has also appeared from a press in Kazan, Russia, in 1905.

Variations in the Readings of MSS. 2 and 3,
as they occur in the Introduction.

l. 2, a.w. 7, MS. 3 ins. والسلام
l. 2, a.w. 11, MS. 3 ins. نبيه
l. 2, a.w. 8, MS. 3 om. واصحابه
l. 4, a.w. 2, MS. 3 ins. والمسلمين
l. 5, a.w. 2, MS. 3 ins. عليه
l. 5, w. 9, MS. 3 rd. فضايل for فضائل
l. 6, w. 8, MS. 3 rd. قلبه for بالِهِ
l. 6, w. 12, MS. 3 rd. العلم انواعا من العلوم for انواعا من العلوم
l. 7, b.w. 2, MS. 3 ins. ربعا
l. 7, w. 11, MS. 3 rd. نوعها for نوع
l. 7, a.w. 13, MS. 3 ins. في الاخرة
l. 8, w. 9, MS. 3 rd. ينفع for ينفعني
l. 8, w. 8, MS. 3 rd. اتركه for اتركها
l. 8, a.w. 8, MS. 3 ins. فرداً في الاخرة
l. 8, w. 6, MS. 3 rd. قال for وقال
l. 9, w. 12, MS. 3 rd. الكفرة for الفكرة
l. 11, a.w. 4, MS. 3 ins. ليقرأ في اوقاته, which MS. 2 ins. supral. gl.
l. 11, w. 5, MS. 3 rd. قال for وقال
l. 12, w. 2, MS. 3 rd. تشتمل for يشتمل
l. 12, w. 5, MS. 3 rd. correctly مسائلي for مسائلتي
l. 14, a.w. 1, MS. 3 om. رحمة الله تعالى and rd. هذه الرسالة في جوابه for في هذه الرسالة



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين والعاقبة للمتقين والصلوة على نبيه محمد وآله اجمعين
اعلم ان واحدا من الطلبة المتقدمين لازم خدمة الشيخ الامام زين الدين
حجة الاسلام ابي حامد محمد بن محمد الغزالي رحمه الله واشتغل بالتحصيل
وقراءة العلم حتى جمع من دقائق العلوم واستكمل فضائل النفس ثم انه
تفكر يوما في حال نفسه وخطر على باله فقال اني قرأت انواعا من العلوم
وصرفت عمري على تعلمها وجمعها والآن ينبغي ان اعلم اي نوع ينفعني غدا
ويؤنسني في قبري واي لا ينفعني حتى اتركها وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
اللهم اني اعوذ بك من علم لا ينفع واستمرت له هذه الفكرة حتى كتب الى حضرة
الشيخ حجة الاسلام محمد الغزالي رحمه الله استفتاء وسأل عنه مسائل
والتمس منه نصيحة ودعاء وقال وان كان مصنفات الشيخ كالاحياء
وغيره يشتمل على جواب مسائلي لكن مقصودي ان يكتب الشيخ حاجتي
في ورقات تكون معي مدة حياتي واعمل بما فيها مدة عمري ان شاء الله تعالى فكتب
الشيخ رحمه الله هذه الرسالة بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
اعلم ايها الولد المحب العزيز اطال الله بقاءك بطاعته وسلك بك سبيل احبائه
ان منشورة النصيحة يكتب من معدن الرسالة صلى الله عليه وسلم ان كان

III. THE ARABIC TEXT
with Collation of Typical Variant Readings

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Folio 92b

l. 2. a.w. وآله, MSS. 22, 23 ins. وصحبه MS. 13 rd. على رسوله محمد وعبده وعلى آله واصحابه وازواجه واولاده اجمعين

l. 3. w. 6. MS. 22 rd. مستفيدين

l. 7. ww. 1, 2. MS. 19 rd. وقصرت صفار عمري
MS. 21 rd. وصرفت ريعا من عمري
MSS. 11, 18, 22 rd. وصرفت ريعان عمري

l. 7. last w. MS. 3 ins. في الاخرة

l. 12 w. 8 MS. 12 ins. وقلب لا يخشع ودعاء لا يسمع ونفس لا تشبع

l. 13. w. 10 MSS. 3, 7, 18, rd. مدى ; MS. 1 rd. مدت
MS. 20, 21, 23, 24 rd. مدة

l. 15, w. 5 MS. 18 rd. هذه الرسالة في جوابه

l. 16. w. 2 MSS. 1, 24, w. t; a.o., منشور

Folio 93a

l. 4. w. 1. MSS. 18, 19, 20, 23, rd. امرىء ; 22 rd. امرء

l. 4. w. 15. MS 1 w. t; a.o. rd. حسرته

l. 5. w. 6. MS. 1 rds. مقعده من ; MS. 3 ins. مقعده a. النار
MSS. 18, 22 rd. الى for من

l. 5. w. 13 MS. 1, 3, 18 w.t; a.o. rd. العلم

l. 6. w. 8. MS. 3 rd. الهدى ; MS. 23, obs.

l. 7. w. 5. MS. 22 rds. طالع
ww. 8ff. MS. 25 rd. غير مشتغل فضل العلم بل يشتغل فضل النفس
many MSS. ins. العلم والفقه

l. 9. w. 6. MS. 25 ins. فن

l. 13. ww. 1ff. Many var. which do not alter meaning.

l. 16, ww. 10ff. MS. 18 rd. بلا استعمال ولا ضرب

l. 17. ww. 13, 14. MS. 18 rd. علمها ويعلّمها





Folio 93b

l. I. w. 4,	MS. I w.t; MS. 18 rd. يحصل ; a.o. يصل
l. 2. w. 8.	MS. 25 ins. a long explanatory gloss
l. 2. w. 10	Many MSS. ins. العلم a. ولو قرأت
l. 5. w. 8.	MSS. I, 19, 20, 21, ins. mg. gl.; a.o. om.
l. 6. ww. 18, 19.	MSS. I, 4, 21, 24, 25, w.t.; a.o. عبده ورسوله
l. 7. w. 8	MS. 18 om. ww. ff. وحج , and rd. simply والحجّ
l. 8. w I.	MS. 18 rd. قول
l. 10 ww. 3-6	Many var. e.g.; العبد يبلغ . هل يبلغ
	MS. 18 rd. آيَبْلُغُ مُجَرَّدَ الإِيمانِ
l. II. w. I.	MSS. I, 2, ins. الجنة ; other var. اليها or الى المطلوب
l. II. w. 16.	MSS. I, 3, 18, 19, 22 rd. جنياً MS. 21 rd. حنيناً
	MS. 23 rd. حافيا عادياً
l. 12. w. II.	MS. 22 rd. بفضلى ورحمتي
l. 14. w. I.	MS. 18 rd. يُلجى.. MS. 22 rd. يختبره
l. 17. w. 5.	MS. 22 ins. انفسكم ; MS. 24 ins. اعمالكم
l. 18. w. 3.	MSS. 3, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24 w.t;
	MS. 19 rd. متمنٍّ متعنٌ MS. 21 rd. متمنيٌ
	MS. I rd. متمعّن
l. 18. w. II.	MSS. 3, 18, 20, 24 rd. متعنْ
	MS. 19. w.t. MS. 21, 23, dis.
	MS. 22 rd. متيقّن MS. I rd. متمنْ
l. 19. w. 3.	MS. 25 ins. وطلب الشفاعه بلا اتباع ذنب من الذنوب
l. 19. w. 5.	MS. 3, 18, 19, 20, 22 rd. عالم

Folio 94a

l. 2, w. 3. MSS. 1, 24, ins. المغفرة . MS. 22 ins. الغفران

l. 3, w. 9 MS. 18 rd. نيل الدنيا (mg.) غرضتك MS. 19 rd. ميلك

MS. 20 rd. نيتك نيل غرض

MS. 1, 21, 23 rd. نيتك غرض

MS. 22 rd. نيتك نيل غرض

l. 9. MSS. much confused; MSS. 19, 20, 22, om. وعلى نبينا

MS. 18 rd. موسى for عيسى ; MS. 21, 24 very obs.

l. 12, w. 6 MS. 22 inserts here a verse of poetry not found elsewhere.

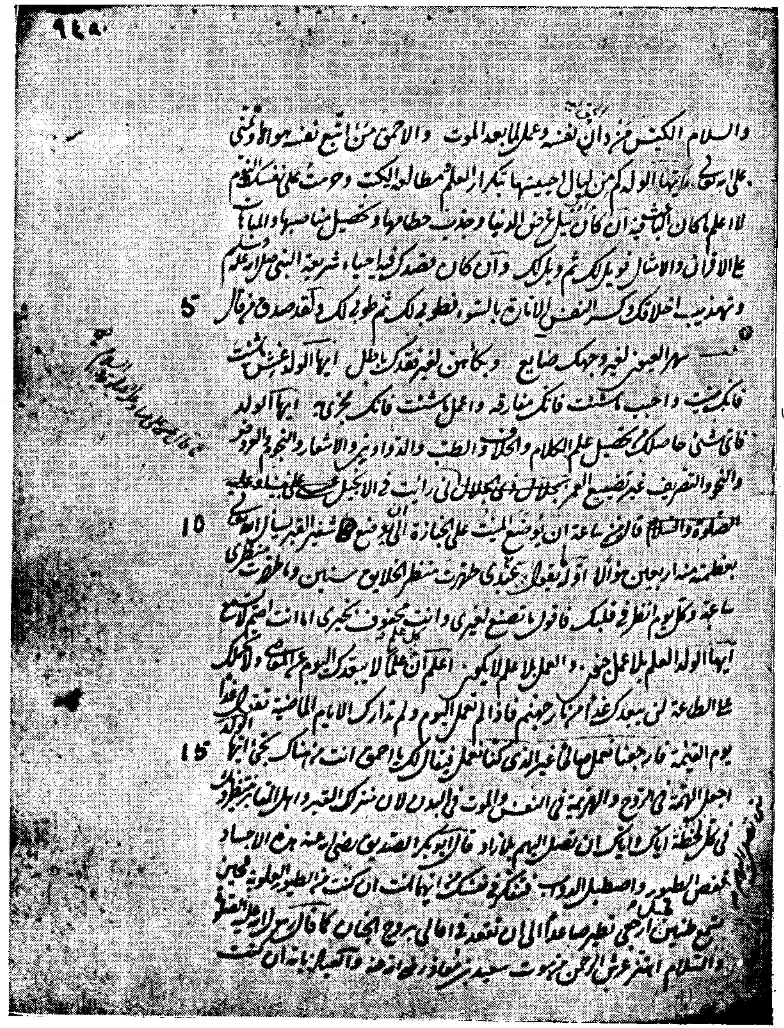
l. 14. MS. 20 ends with last w. in this line

l. 15, w. 5. Most MSS. om. غير الذي كنا نعمل

l. 17, w. 1 mg. MS. 18 ins. mg., rd. تحصل for تصل

l. 18, w. 3. MS 18 rd. اواصطبل

l. 19, w. 7 MS. 21 rd. سعد , a.o. سعيد




٩٤ب

عن الذوات كما قال الله تعالى اولئك كالانعام بل هم اضل فلا تأمن من انتقالك من زاوية الدار
الى هاوية النار روي ان الحسن البصري رحمه الله تعالى اعطي شربة ماء بارد فلما اخذ القدح غشي عليه
وسقط من يده فلما افاق قيل له ما لك يا ابا سعيد قال ذكرت امنية اهل النار حين يقولون
لاهل الجنة ان افيضوا علينا من الماء ايها الولد ان كان العلم المجرد كافيا لك ولا تحتاج الى عمل
لكان نداؤه هل من سائل وهل من مستغفر وهل من تائب ضايعا بلا فائدة وروي ان جماعة من
الصحابة رضوان الله تعالى عليهم اجمعين ذكروا عبد الله بن عمر رضي الله عنه عند رسول الله عليه الصلوة والسلام
قال نعم الرجل هو لو كان يصلي بالليل وقال عليه الصلوة والسلام لرجل من اصحابه يا فلان لا تكثر النوم
بالليل فان كثرة النوم مع صاحبه يدع صاحبه فقيرا يوم القيمة ايها الولد ومن الليل فتهجد به نافلة
بالاسحار هم يستغفرون شكر والمستغفرين بالاسحار ذكر قال النبي صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم
ثلاث اصوات يحبها الله تعالى صوت الديك وصوت الذي يقرأ القرآن وصوت المستغفرين بالاسحار
قال سفيان الثوري ان الله تعالى ريحا تهب وقت الاسحار تحمل الاذكار والاستغفار الى الملك الجبار
وقال ايضا اذا كان اول الليل ينادي مناد من تحت العرش الا ليقم العابدون فيقومون
ويصلون ما شاء الله تعالى ثم ينادي مناد في شطر الليل الا ليقم القانتون فيقومون ويصلون
الى السحر فاذا كان السحر نادى مناد الا ليقم المستغفرون فيقومون ويستغفرون فاذا طلع
الفجر نادى مناد الا ليقم الغافلون فيقومون من فرشهم كالموتى نشروا من قبورهم ايها الولد
روي في وصايا لقمان الحكيم لابنه انه قال يا بني لا يكونن الديك اكيس منك ينادي وقت السحر
وانت نايم لقد احسن من قال شعر لقد هتفت في جنح الليل حمامة على فنن
وهنا واني لنايم كذبت وبيت الله لو كنت عاشقا لما سبقتني بالبكا الحمايم
وازعم اني هايم ذو صبابة لربي ولا ابكي وتبكي البهايم ايها الولد خلاصة العلم

Folio 94b

l. 4, w. 6.	Mg. ins. by MS. 1, 22.
l. 5, w. 13.	MS. 3, 18, 21, ins. only رزقكم الله MS. 18, rd. فلا
l. 6, w. 9.	MSS. 1, 18, rd. عمر
	MSS. 3, 21, 22, 23, عباس
l. 8, ww. 12ff.	MSS. 1, 22, 23 ins. نافلة
	MSS. 3, 18, 21 om. لك
l. 11, a.w. 6.	Most MSS. ins. خلق MS. 18 agrees w.t.

Folio 95a

l. 1, last w.	MSS. divided here between الشرع and الشارع ; also in l. 3, w. 1; l. 4, w. 14; and l. 5, w. 6.
l. 7. w. 8.	MS. 18 rd. مطلق
l. 8. w. 4.	MS. 18 rd. ومتى
l. 15, w. 10.	Mg. rding. ins. in 1, a.o. om.
l. 16, w. 2, mg.	MS. 1 rds. اربعة instead of سبعة MS. 18 w.t; other MSS. dist. and obs.
l. 18, w. 11.	MS. 1, 22 ins. mg. rding. MSS. 3, 21 w.t.
l. 18, a. w. 14.	MS. 18 rd. التي تكون فيه النجاة; many var. in other MSS.



٩٥

العلم ان تعلم الطاعة والعبادة ما هي اعلم ان الطاعة والعبادة متابعة الشارع
في الاوامر والنواهي بالقول والفعل يعني كلما تقول وتفعل وتترك قولا وفعلا يكون باقتداء
الشارع كما لو صمت يوم العيد وايام التشريق تكون عاصيا او صليت في ثوب مغصوب
وان كان صورة عبادة تأثم ايها الولد فينبغي لك قولك وفعلك موافقا للشارع
اذ العلم والعمل بلا اقتداء الشارع ضلالة وينبغي ان لا تغتر بشطح وطامات الصوفية
لان سلوك هذا الطريق يكون بالمجاهدة وقطع شهوة النفس وقتل هواها بسيف الرياضة
لا بالطامات والترهات واعلم ان اللسان المطلق والقلب المطبق المملو بالغفلة
والشهوة علامة الشقاوة حتى لا تقتل النفس بصدق المجاهدة لن تحيي قلبك بانوار المعرفة
واعلم ان بعض مسائلك التي سألتني منها لا يستقيم جوابه بالكتابة والقول ان تبلغ تلك
الحالة تعرف ما هي والا فعلمها من المستحيلات لانها ذوقي وكل ما يكون ذوقيا لا يستقيم وصفه
بالقول كحلاوة الحلو ومرارة المر لا يعرف الا بالذوق كما حكي ان عنينا كتب الى صاحب
ان عرفني لذة المجامعة كيف تكون فكتب في جوابه يا فلان اني كنت حسبتك عنينا
فقط فالآن عرفت انك عنين واحمق ان هذه اللذة ذوقية ان تصل اليها تعرف والا
لا يستقيم وصفها بالقول والكتابة ايها الولد بعض مسائلك من هذا القبيل واما البعض
الذي يستقيم له الجواب فقد ذكرناه في احياء العلوم وغيره ونذكر ههنا نبذا منه ونشير
اليه فنقول الاول اعتقاد صحيح لا يكون فيه بدعة والثاني توبة نصوح لا ترجع بعدها
الى الزلة والثالث استرضاء الخصوم حتى لا يبقى لاحد عليك حق والرابع
تحصيل علم الشرائع قدر ما تؤدي به اوامر الله تعالى ثم من العلوم الآخرة ما يكون النجاة
حكي ان الشبلي رحمه الله خدم اربعمائة استاذ وقد قرأت اربعة الاف حديث ثم



95 b.

اخترت منها حديثاً واحداً عملت به وخليت ما سواه لاني تأملت فوجدت خلاصي
ونجاتي فيه وكان علم الاولين والآخرين كله مندرجاً فيه فاكتفيت به وذلك ان
الرسول صلى الله تعالى عليه وسلم قال لبعض اصحابه اعمل لدنياك بقدر مقامك فيها واعمل لآخرتك
بقدر بقائك فيها واعمل لله تعالى بقدر حاجتك اليه واعمل للنار بقدر صبرك عليها ايها الولد
اذا علمت هذا الحديث لا حاجة الى العلم الكثير وتأمل في حكاية اخرى وهي ان حاتم الاصم
كان من اصحاب الشقيق البلخي رحمة الله عليهما فسأله يوماً وقال صاحبتني منذ ثلثين سنة
ما حاصلك فيها قال حصلت ثماني فوائد من العلم وهي تكفيني منه لاني ارجو خلاصي ونجاتي فيها
فقال شقيق ما هي قال حاتم الفائدة الاولى اني نظرت الى الخلق فرأيت لكل منهم محبوباً
ومعشوقاً يحبه ويعشقه وبعض ذلك المحبوب يصاحبه الى مرض الموت وبعضه الى شفير القبر
ثم يرجع كله ويتركه فريداً وحيداً ولا يدخل في قبره ولا يونس فيه فما وجدته الا الاعمال الصالحة
فاخذته محبوباً لي سراجاً في قبري ويونسني فيه ولا يتركني فريداً الفائدة الثانية
اني رأيت الخلق يقتدون اهواءهم ويبادرون الى مرادات انفسهم فتأملت الى قوله تعالى
فاما من خاف مقام ربه ونهى النفس عن الهوى فان الجنة هي المأوى وتيقنت
ان القرآن حق صادق فبادرت الى خلاف نفسي وتشمرت بمجاهدتها ما متعتها بهواها
حتى ارتاضت لطاعة الله تعالى وانقادت الفائدة الثالثة اني رأيت كل واحد
من الناس يسعى في جمع حطام الدنيا ثم يمسكه قابضاً يده فتأملت في قوله تعالى
ما عندكم ينفد وما عند الله باق فبذلت محصولي من الدنيا لوجه الله ففرقته بين المساكين
ليكون ذخراً لي عند الله تعالى الفائدة الرابعة اني رأيت بعض الخلق ظن شرفه وعزه
في كثرة الاقوام والعشائر فاغتر بهم وزعم آخرون انه في ثروة الاموال وكثرة الاولاد

Folio 95b

l. 4, w. 3 from left, MSS. 18, 22, ins. واذا ارادت ان تعصي مولاك فاطلب مكانا لا يراك

l. 5. w.w. 2, 3. Preferred reading is عملت بهذا

l. 10, w. 8. line of text omitted through homoeoteleuton; see translation in loco.

l. 14, w. 2 from left, MS. 3 rd. ما متعتها ; MS. 18 om., MSS. 21 w.t; other MSS. obs.

l. 19, w. 11. MS. 3 rd. ثورة
MS. 18 rd. كثرة
MS. 22 rd. في كثرة الاموال والاولاد

Folio 96a

l. 6, w. 9. — Mg. rding. pr. correct, our MS. om. through homoeotelouton. See translation in loco.

l. 8, w. 5. — MS. 19 ends at this point.

l. 12, w. 2 from left. — Several MSS. misread دينار as دنيا

l. 13, a. w. 3. — MS 18 ins. المال و in text.

l. 17, last w. from left. — Most MSS. rd. حكايتين

l. 17, w. 10. — MS. 5 om. from this word to folio 97a, l. 14, w. 11, pr. a misplaced page.

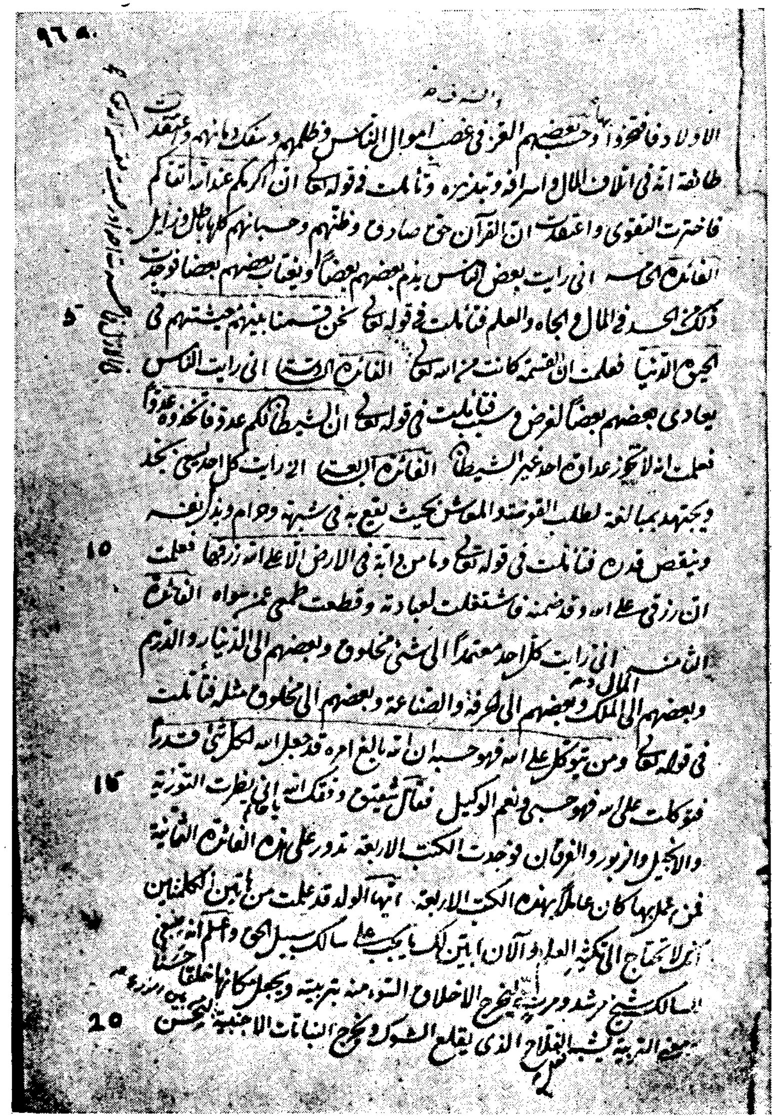
l. 18, w. 6. — MS. 14 om. from this point to l. 20, w. 1.

l. 20, a.w. 3. — MS. 18 ins. فعل in text.

l. 20, w. 6. — MSS. 4, 17, 18, 22, rd. يقطع for يقلع

l. 20, w. 1. from left. — MS. 18 ins. بين الزرع in text

w. 2 from left. — MSS. 4, 24, rd. خبيثة


٩٦a

الاولاد فافتخروا بها وحسب بعضهم العز في غصب اموال الناس وظلمهم وسفك دمائهم واعتقدت
طائفة انه في اتلاف المال واسرافه وتبذيره وتاملت في قوله تعالى ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقاكم
فاخترت التقوى واعتقدت ان القرآن حق صادق وظنهم وحسبانهم كلها باطل وزائل
الفائدة الخامسة اني رايت بعض الناس يذم بعضهم بعضا ويغتاب بعضهم بعضا فوجدت
ذلك من الحسد في المال والجاه والعلم فتاملت في قوله تعالى نحن قسمنا بينهم معيشتهم في
الحيوة الدنيا فعلمت ان القسمة كانت من الله تعالى الفائدة السادسة اني رايت الناس
يعادي بعضهم بعضا لغرض وسبب فتاملت في قوله تعالى ان الشيطان لكم عدو فاتخذوه عدوا
فعلمت انه لا يجوز عداوة احد غير الشيطان الفائدة السابعة اني رايت كل احد يسعى بجد
ويجتهد بمبالغة لطلب القوت والمعاش بحيث يقع به في شبهة وحرام ويذل نفسه
وينقص قدره فتاملت في قوله تعالى وما من دابة في الارض الا على الله رزقها فعلمت
ان رزقي على الله وقد ضمنه فاشتغلت بعبادته وقطعت طمعي عمن سواه الفائدة
الثامنة اني رايت كل احد معتمدا الى شيء مخلوق وبعضهم الى الدينار والدرهم
وبعضهم الى الملك وبعضهم الى الحرفة والصناعة وبعضهم الى مخلوق مثله فتاملت
في قوله تعالى ومن يتوكل على الله فهو حسبه ان الله بالغ امره قد جعل الله لكل شيء قدرا
فتوكلت على الله فهو حسبي ونعم الوكيل فقال شقيق وفقك الله اني نظرت التورية
والانجيل والزبور والفرقان فوجدت الكتب الاربعة تدور على هذه الفوائد الثمانية
فمن عمل بها كان عاملا بهذه الكتب الاربعة ايها الولد قد علمت من هاتين الحكايتين
انك لا تحتاج الى تكثير العلم والآن ابين لك ما يجب على سالك سبيل الحق واعلم انه ينبغي
للسالك شيخ مرشد مرب ليخرج الاخلاق السوء منه بتربيته ويجعل مكانها خلقا حسنا
ومعنى التربية يشبه فعل الفلاح الذي يقلع الشوك ويخرج النباتات الاجنبية من بين الزرع ليحسن
نباته



Folio 96b

l. 1, w. 3.	Mg. gloss included in MSS. 1, 22, i. iii, iv. See footnote 2, sec. XIX Translation.
l. 2, ww. 11ff.	Much confusion among other MSS.
l. 3, ww. 7ff.	Much confusion among other MSS.
l. 4, w. 9.	Should rd. بصير. See l. 6, w. 1.
l. 4. w. 3. from left.	MS. 18, rd. الكونين
l. 7, a.w. 5.	Several MSS. ins. النافع
l. 10, w. 10.	MSS. 1, 3, 4, 12, 18, 21, 23, 24 ins. mg. rd.
l. 11, w. 14.	MSS. divide bt. يسمع and تسمع
l. 13, w. 6.	MS. 22 rd. ليقصم
w. 2 from left.	MS. 21 rd. صحف
l. 14, w. 11.	MSS. 1. 4, 22, 24 ins. فهذه هي الامور السبعة التي كانت واجبة على السالك جدًّا (MSS. 22, 24 om. السبعة)
l. 16, ww. 16, 17.	MS. 18 rd. يقدر هضم

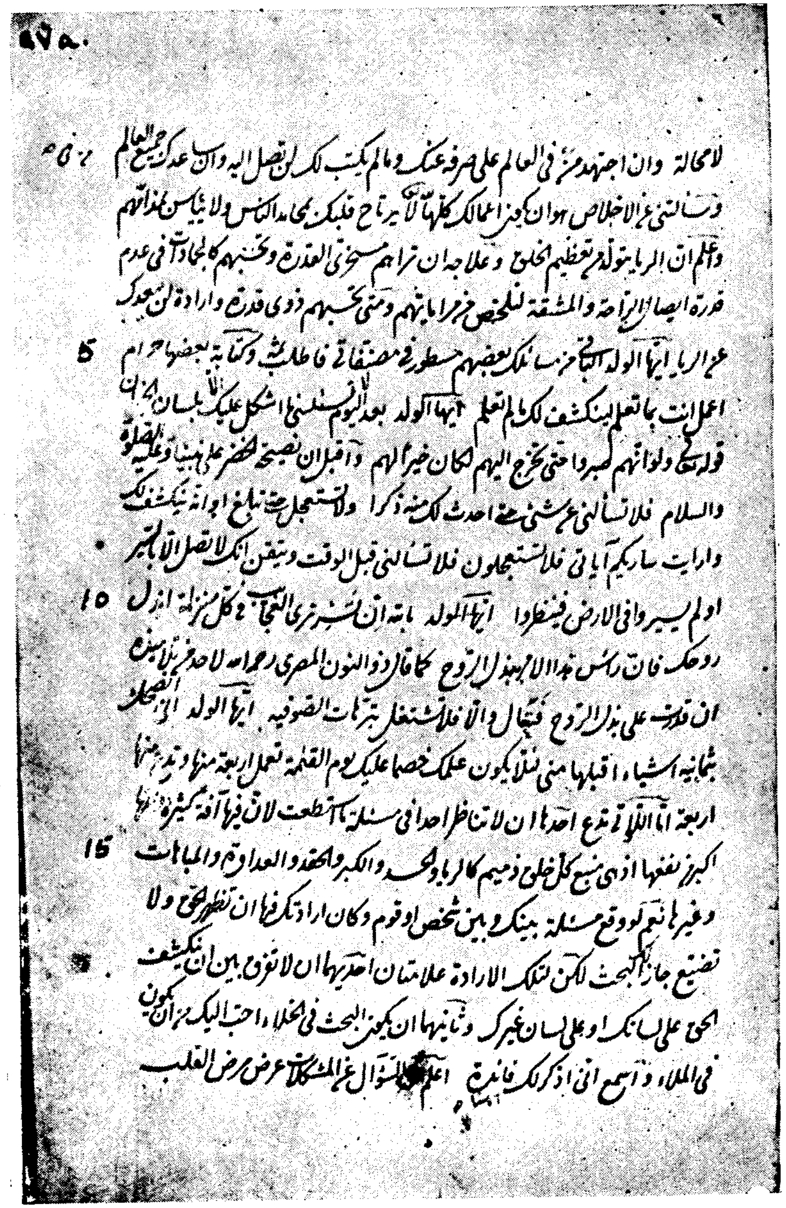
Folio 97a

l. 2, w. 2 from left. MS. 1 rd. يثابين (?) cor. mg. يتأسى
MS. 3 rd. يامى
MS. 4 rd. يبالى
MS. 13 rd. بياسى
MS. 18 rd. تبالى
MS. 21 rd. بيأس
MS. 22 rd. يأس

l. 7, w. 13. Most MSS. omit ان

l. 7, ww. 16, 17. MS. 1 w.t. MS. 18 rd. لموسى MS. 3, 21, 22, 23 om.

l. 10, w. 2 from left. Many MSS. rd. منزل



لامحالة وان اجتهدت مرة في العالم على صرف عمرك وما لم يكتب لك لن تصل اليه وان عددت جميع العالم
وسالتني عن الاخلاص هو ان تكون اعمالك كلها لله تعالى ولا يرتاح قلبك بمحامد الناس ولا تبالي بمذامهم
واعلم ان الريا يتولد من تعظيم الخلق وعلاجه ان تراهم مسخرين تحت القدرة وتحسبهم كالجمادات في عدم
قدرة ايصال الراحة والمشقة لتخلص من مراياتهم ومتى تحسبهم ذوي قدرة وارادة لن يبعد
عنك الريا ايها الولد والباقي من مسائلك بعضها مسطور في مصنفاتي فاطلبه ثمّ وكتابة بعضها حرام
اعمل انت بما تعلم لينكشف لك ما لم تعلم ايها الولد بعد اليوم لا تسألني ما اشكل عليك الا بلسان الجنان
قوله تعالى ولو انهم صبروا حتى تخرج اليهم لكان خيرا لهم واقبل نصيحة الخضر على نبينا وعليه الصلوة
والسلام فلا تسالني عن شيء حتى احدث لك منه ذكرا ولا تستعجل حتى تبلغ اوانه ينكشف لك
وارايت سأريكم آياتي فلا تستعجلون فلا تسالني قبل الوقت وتيقن انك لا تصل الا بالسير
اولم يسيروا في الارض فينظروا ايها الولد بالله ان تسير ترى العجائب في كل منزل وابذل
روحك فان راس هذا الامر بذل الروح كما قال ذو النون المصري رحمه الله لاحد من تلاميذه
ان قدرت على بذل الروح فتعال والا فلا تشتغل بترهات الصوفية ايها الولد اني انصحك
بثمانية اشياء اقبلها مني لئلا يكون علمك خصما عليك يوم القيمة تعمل اربعة منها وتدع منها
اربعة اما اللاتي تدع احدها ان لا تناظر احدا في مسئلة ما استطعت لان فيها آفة كثيرة فاثمها
اكبر من نفعها اذ هي منبع كل خلق ذميم كالريا والحسد والكبر والحقد والعداوة والمباهات
وغيرها نعم لو وقع مسئلة بينك وبين شخص او قوم وكان ارادتك فيها ان تظهر الحق ولا
تضيع جاز لك البحث لكن لتلك الارادة علامتان احديهما ان لا تفرق بين ان ينكشف
الحق على لسانك او على لسان غيرك وثانيهما ان يكون البحث في الخلا احب اليك من ان يكون
في الملا واسمع اني اذكر لك فائدة هاهنا اعلم ان السؤال عن المشكلات عرض مرض القلب



Folio 97b

l. 4, last ww.	The mg. gl. appears in MS. 1 at this point and also in l. 17; a.o. omit at this point.
ll. 5 to 7.	Many minor variations in MSS.
l. 6, ww. 7 to 14.	MS. 1, w.t.; a.o. om.
l. 14, w. 7.	MS. 5 ends at this point.
l. 15, w. 10.	MS. iii ends at this point.
l. 17, w. 2.	See above, l. 4.

Folio 98a

l. 8, w. 1. Most MSS. rd. فيزعجه or فيترمجه for فيجزمه
MS. 18 rd. فيترعجه عن مرارته

l. 14, w. 6. Phrase ins. mg. appears in text of MSS. 1, 23, 24.

l. 14, w. 12. MS. 23 w.t., other var. are تنضج ينفر ينعسر تقرّ

l. 15, w. 10. l. omitted through homoeoteleuton ins. mg.



Folio 98b



l. 8, ww. 7 and 9. MS. 21 ins. bt. these two words 4 pp. (fols. 359a to 360b) of matter from some other source than *Ayyuha 'l-Walad*.

l. 10, w. 9. MSS. 3, 19, rd. باستهزاء
MS. 22, rd. استهزاء
MSS. 21, 23 w.t.

l. 15, w. 1. MS. 1 ins. mg. rding of MS. 2 into text; a.o. om.

Folio 99a

l. 6, w. 8. MS. 3, 21, 23 rd. فهيم MS. 1, 23 ins. زكي
MS. 1 ins. والعاقل يكفيه الاشارة MS. 18 w.t.

l. 9, w. 6. MS. 1 ins. من الوضوء والصلوة وغيرها
w. 9. MS. 1 ins. حتى تحصل جميع ما اخبرتك ان شاء الله تعالى

l. 12, w. 5. MS. 1, 3, 18, 21, 23 ins. الآ MS. 22 w.t.



99a.

العلوم لا يغنيك بل تشتغل بمراقبة القلب ومعرفة صفات النفس والاعراض عن علايق الدنيا وتزكية نفسك عن الاخلاق الذميمة وتشتغل بمحبة الله تعالى وعبادته والاتصاف بالاوصاف الحسنة ولا يمر على عبد يوم وليلة الا ويمكن ان يكون موته فيه. ايها الولد اسمع مني كلاما آخر وتفكر فيه حتى تجد خلاصا لو انك اخبرت ان السلطان بعد اسبوع يجيئك زائرا اعلم في تلك المدة لا تشتغل الا باصلاح ما علمت ان نظر السلطان سيقع عليه من الثياب والبدن والدار والفراش وغيرها والآن تفكر الى ما اشرت به فانك فهم والكلام الفرد يكفي الكيس قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان الله تعالى لا ينظر الى صوركم ولا الى اعمالكم ولكن ينظر الى قلوبكم ونياتكم وان اردت علم احوال القلب فانظر الى الاحياء وغيره من مصنفاتي وهذا العلم فرض العين وغيره فرض الكفاية الا ما يؤدي فرائض الله تعالى يوفقك حتى تحصله والرابع ان لا تجمع من الدنيا ازيد من كفاية سنة كما كان رسول الله عليه الصلوة والسلام يعد لبعض حجراته وقال اللهم اجعل قوت آل محمد كفافا ولم يكن يعد ذلك لكل حجرات بل كان يعد لمن علم ان في قلبها ضعفا واما من كانت صاحبة يقين ما كان يعد لها قوت يوم ونصف ايها الولد اني كتبت في هذا الفصل ملتمساتك فينبغي لك ان تعمل بها ولا تنساني فيه من ان تذكرني في صالح دعائك واما الدعاء مما سألت مني فاطلبه من دعوات الصحاح واقرأ هذا الدعاء في اوقاتك خصوصا اعقاب صلواتك اللهم اني اسالك من النعمة تمامها ومن العصمة دوامها ومن الرحمة شمولها ومن العافية حصولها ومن العيش ارغده ومن العمر اسعده ومن الاحسان اتمه ومن الانعام اعمه ومن الفضل اعذبه ومن اللطف انفعه اللهم كن لنا ولا تكن علينا اللهم اختم بالسعادة آجالنا وحقق بالزيادة آمالنا واقرن بالعافية غدونا وآصالنا واجعل الى رحمتك مصيرنا ومآلنا واصبب سجال عفوك على ذنوبنا ومن علينا باصلاح عيوبنا واجعل التقوى زادنا وفي دينك اجتهادنا وعليك توكلنا واعتمادنا ثبتنا على نهج الاستقامة واعذنا في الدنيا من موجبات الندامة يوم القيمة

خفف عنا ثقل الاوزار وارزقنا عيشة الابرار واكفنا واصرف عنا شر الاشرار واعتق رقابنا ورقاب آبائنا وامهاتنا من النار برحمتك يا عزيز يا غفار يا كريم يا ستار يا حليم يا جبار يا الله يا ارحم الراحمين

شغلی

بدان وفقک الله که نفی خواطر که شرط اعظم سلوک است به تصرف عدم در وجود سالک که آن تصرف علم اثر و نتیجه جذبه الهیست بکمال میسر گردد و وقوف قلبی برای آنست تا اثر آن جذبه مطالعه کرده شود و آن اثر در دل قرار گیرد و رعایت عدد در ذکر قلبی برای جمع خواطر متفرقه است و در ذکر قلبی چون عدد از بیست و یک بگذرد و اثر ظاهر نشود دلیل باشد بر بی‌حاصلی آن عمل و اثر ذکر آن بود که در زمان نفی وجود بشریت منتفی شود و در زمان اثبات اثری از آثار جذبات الوهیت مطالعه افتد انکه فرموده است خداوند جل ذکره در کلام مجید ما عندکم ینفد وما عند الله باق در معنی این آیت چنان باید دانستن که اعمال صالحه و افعال حسنه که از اهل ایمان در وجود می‌آید و منتفی میگردد که در محل قبول حضرت جل ذکره افتد و علامت قبول عمل نفی شدن وجود بشریت است در آن عمل و ظاهر شدن جذبه الهیست بدان وفقک الله تعالی که در شرح بعضی از فواید کبار اهل تصوف قدس الله ارواحهم گفته اند مقصود و ثمره عبادات ذکر خداوندست جل ذکره و بسعادت عظمی کسی رسد که از این عالم برود و انس و محبت حق تعالی بر وی غالب بود و غلبه انس و محبت او جز بدوام ذکر او جل ذکره نبود و اصل مسالک کلمه لا اله الا الله است و وی عین ذکر است و همه عبادات دیگر تاکید این ذکر است و روح نماز تازه کردن ذکر حق سبحانه است بر دل بر سبیل هیبت و تعظیم و مقصود از روزه کسر شهوات است تا چون دل از مزاحمت شهوات خلاص یابد صافی شود و قرارگاه ذکر گردد و مقصود از حج ذکر خداوند خانه است و تهییج شوق بلقای وی و ترک دنیا و شهوات و معاصی برای فراغت ذکر

PART TWO

THE TRANSLATION

THE TRANSLATION

I. In the name of Allah[1] the Compassionate[2] the Merciful :

Praise unto Allah the Lord of the worlds[3] and the good issue to the pious,[4] and blessing[5] upon his prophet Moḥammed and his family all of them. Know that a certain advanced student[6] attended zealously to the service of the shaykh, the Imâm, the ornament of religion, the proof of Islâm, Abi Ḥâmid Moḥammed bin Moḥammed al-Ghazâli, the mercy of Allah upon him, and labored in the acquisition and reading of science, until he had assembled the minutiae of the sciences and had per-

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I. 1 Instead of translating the Arabic word by the English term 'God', I have preferred to retain the Arabic word 'Allah', and have done so through the translation.

2 Lane, TON, vol. I, p. 15 says that الرحمن 'the Compassionate' expresses an accidental or occasional passion, while الرحيم 'the Merciful' denotes a constant quality. The 'Ulamâ' say that the first means 'Merciful in great things', and the second 'Merciful in small things'. Another explanation is that the first term denotes that active quality from which the evidence of mercy comes, while the second denotes the permanent inherent quality which originates that mercy.

3 The first Surah of the Qur'ân opens with this phrase. Sale translates العالمين by "all creatures", Rodwell by "the worlds". It is used for the three worlds of rational creatures recognized by Islam—angels, men, and jinn.

4 This phrase occurs in the Qur'ân, Surah 11:51.

5 Calverley, pp. 3-6, discusses at length the derivation and meaning of the word ṣalah.

6 No clue is afforded as to the identity of this advanced student, except that the colophon at the head of MS. 23 reads "The advice of the Shaykh ——— al-Ghazâli to the one trusting firmly in the glorious King, 'Abdallah ibn al-Ḥajj Khalîl." I am unable to identify this name. The tradition quoted in section III below seems to imply that he was at least 40 years of age.

fected the virtues of the soul;[7] then on a certain day he considered the condition of his soul and it occurred to him and he said, "Truly I have read varieties of sciences, and have spent my life in learning and assembling them, and now I ought to know which kind will benefit[8] me tomorrow and cheer me in my grave, and which will not benefit me, so that I abandon it, as the Apostle[9] of Allah, Allah bless and give him peace, said, 'O Allah, I seek[10] refuge in thee from knowledge which does not benefit'." And this idea persisted with him until he wrote to the honorable shaykh, the proof of Islâm, Moḥammed al-Ghazâli, the mercy of Allah upon him, seeking a "fetwa"[11] and asked him questions and desired from him advice and a supplication[12] [to read in its appointed times.] And he

7 See Appended Note on *The Wonders of the Heart.*

8 Abûhurairah is quoted in Mishcât al-Maṣâbîḥ (v. i, p. 69) as follows: The Prophet said, "that knowledge from which no benefit is derived, is like a treasure from which no charity is bestowed in the road of God."

9 Lane TON, p. 16 says "An apostle is distinguished from a mere Prophet by his having a book revealed to him." Mishcât, v. ii, p. 654, says, "There is a difference between Nabi and Rasûl; a Nabi is he who receives instruction from above to deliver to man, and a Rasûl has those instructions and a book also.—'Abd-ul-Ḥak". Mishcât in this same place quotes the traditional saying of Mohammed that there have been 24,000 prophets, and 350 (Hughes D I, article Prophet, says 315) apostles. Another tradition (Majâlis al-Abrâr p. 55) says the number of books delivered was 104, of which 100 are lost. There remain only the Taurat of Moses, the Zabûr of David, the Injîl of Jesus, and the Qur'ân of Moḥammed.

10 al-Ghazâli says, in the Iḥyâ'-ul-'ulûm: "Satan laughs at such pious ejaculations. Those who utter them are like a man who should meet a lion in a desert, while there is a fort at no great distance, and, when he sees the evil beast, should stand exclaiming, 'I take refuge in God,' without moving a step towards it. What will such an ejaculation profit him? In the same way the mere exclamation, 'I take refuge in God,' will not protect thee from the terrors of His judgment unless thou really take refuge in Him." Quoted in Claude Field Alchemy of Happiness p. 10. I cannot locate the source of this quotation.

11 A "fetwa" is a formal legal opinion given by an official interpreter of the law in answer to a question laid before him.

12 The worshipper in Islam after completing the prescribed prayers may make any special supplication he will. Sayyid Murtaḍa says the best supplication is:

'O Allah!
I seek refuge in Thee from the punishment of the grave!
I seek refuge in Thee from the testing of the Anti-Christ!
I seek refuge in Thee from the testing of the time of life and death!
O Allah! I seek refuge in Thee from sin and obligation!'
(S.M. iii. 161 B).

The student desired a special supplication for private use. See Translation Section XXV, note 1. A tradition related by Abu-Malic al-Asja'i (Mishcât v. i, p. 594) says, "when a man embraced Islam, the Prophet would teach him the prayers, and then ordered him to supplicate in these words: O Lord, pardon me, and have mercy on me, and show me the straight road, and give me health, and daily bread."

said, "Even though the writings of the shaykh like Iḥyâ'[13] and other works contain the answer to my questions, yet my purpose is that the shaykh should write my requirement in a leaflet to remain with me the length of my life, and I will do according to what is in them all my days, if Allah the Exalted wills." So the shaykh, the mercy of Allah the Exalted (upon him), wrote in this epistle:

II. In the name of Allah the Compassionate the Merciful:

Know, O Youth,[1] beloved and precious,—(Allah) prolong thy days in his obedience, and lead thee in the path of his loved ones—that the open letter[2] of advice is written from the mine of the Message (of the apostle), Allah bless him and give him peace; if there has reached you advice from it, what need have you of my advice? and if not, then tell me what you have attained in these past years.

III. O youth, from all that the Apostle of Allah, blessing and peace upon him, has advised his Congregation, is his saying,[1] Allah bless him and give him peace: "The sign of Allah's withdrawal from His worshipper[2] is his busying himself in what does not concern him; and if a man has passed an hour of his life in other than that for which he was created, it is certainly fitting that his grief should be prolonged [in the day of resurrection], and whoever has reached (the age of) forty,[3] and his good does not surpass his evil, let him prepare for the fire"; and in this advice there is a sufficiency for the people of the world [knowledge].

13 See Appended Note on *The Vitalizing of the Sciences of Religion.*

II. 1 The introduction shows that the one thus addressed is no young child, but an advanced student (واحدا من الطلبه المتقدمين) The word ولد means literally "offspring", its use is like the Hebrew נער or French garçon. I have used the word "youth" throughout, though this particular student, who has spent the greater part of his life in acquiring knowledge, is doubtless a bearded sheikh! See Translation Section I, footnote 6.

2 I am translating this phrase as nearly literally as possible. The idea is that advice, proclaimed publicly, must be derived from the Qur'ân which is the source of all advice. Hammer-Purgstall renders this very freely in his German translation: "Perlen ausgestreute des Rathes sind gescrieben in der Fundgrube Sendung des Propheten"—and with a slightly different meaning.

III. 1 I fail to find the source of this traditional saying of the Prophet.

2 I have uniformly translated the verb عبد and its derivatives by the verb worship and its noun forms. In some contexts 'servant' might be more suitable than 'worshipper', but I have thought it best to use a single word consistently.

3 A Swabian proverb says, "A Swabian must put away folly by the time he is forty." See Translation Section I, footnote 6.

IV. O youth, the advice is easy, the difficulty is accepting it, since it is bitter in the taste of the follower of passionate desire, because prohibited things are cherished in their[1] hearts; especially whoever is seeking formal knowledge, and is busying himself about excellence of [science and] the improvement of the soul [and jurisprudence] and the praises of the present world, for he accounts that knowledge alone is a means in which will be his safety and his salvation, and that he can get along without work; and this is the belief of the philosophers. Praise the Great God! he does not know this much, that when he acquires knowledge, if he does not work according to it, the indictment against him is certain. As the Apostle of Allah, Allah bless him and give him peace, said[2] "The person most severely punished in the day of resurrection is the learned one whom Allah the Exalted does not benefit[3] by reason of his knowledge." It is told that Junayd,[4] the mercy of Allah (upon him), appeared in a dream after his death, and it was said to him, "What is the news, O Abu Qâsim?" He replied, "Perished are the explanations,[5] and vanished are the allusions, nothing benefited us except the prostrations which we made in the middle of the night."

V. O youth, do not be bankrupt of works, nor empty of states;[1] be assured that knowledge alone does not strengthen the hand: a parable of this is, if a man in the wilderness wore ten Indian swords and other weapons, and the man were brave and a warrior, and a terrifying lion attacked him, what do you think? would the weapons ward off the evil from him without his using them and thrusting with them? it is perfectly obvious that they would not ward (it) off, except by activity. Just so, though a man read a hundred thousand scientific questions and understood them or learned them,[2] they do not benefit him except by working. And similarly, if a man had fever and jaundice, his cure is in oxymel and barley broth, and he will not regain his health except in their use.

IV. 1 The confusion between the singular number (the follower) and the plural number (their hearts) exists in the text.

2 I do not find the source of this traditional saying.

3 Abuhurairah is quoted as saying: "That knowledge from which no benefit is derived, is like a treasure from which no charity is bestowed in the road of God." Quoted in Mishcât al-Maṣâbîḥ, v. i, p. 69.

4 Junayd b. Moḥammed, Abu Qâsim, was born and lived in 'Irâq. In later years he gave himself entirely to Mysticism and gathered a large circle of followers. He died in 297/910.

5 The "explanations" and "allusions" doubtless refer to the practices of speculative theology, which are contrasted with the prayerful attitude of mind which leads to night watches and prayers.

V. 1 See Appended Note on *The "Way" of the Moslem Mystic.*

2 Variant reading: understood them and taught them. See folio 93a, l. 17.

Though thou measure two thousand rottles of wine,
Unless thou drink, no thrill is thine.[3]

Knowledge is the tree, and working is its fruit;[4] and though you studied a hundred years and collected a thousand books, you would not be prepared for the mercy of Allah the Exalted, except by working, as Allah the Exalted said,

"And verily nothing (shall be reckoned) to man but that for which he made effort."[5]

And "whoever hopes to meet his Lord let him work a righteous work,"[6] "a recompense according to what they have done"[7] "a recompense according to what they have earned."[8]

"As for those who believed and do right things, there was for them the gardens of Paradise as an abode."[9]

["but others have come after them, they have neglected prayer and have followed lusts; and they shall find evil,] except whoever turns and believes and does a good work; [these shall enter the garden and be wronged in nothing".][10]

And what do you say as to this tradition: Islâm is built upon five (pillars): the witness that there is no God but Allah, and Moḥammed is the Apostle of Allah; and the instituting of prayers; and the giving of alms; and the fast of Ramadan; and the pilgrimage to Mecca (حجّ البيت) for everyone who is able[11] to make the journey. And faith is confession with the tongue and belief with the heart and working with the members of the body; and the value[12] of works is greater than can be reckoned; and if the worshipper attains the Garden by the favor of Allah the Exalted

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3 This verse appears in Persian in all MSS.

4 This same figure is used also in Ghazâli's Minhâj, except that there he states that worship (عبادة) is the fruit rather than work (عمل) and the figure is further developed.

5 Qur'ân 53:40.
6 Qur'ân 18:110.
7 Qur'ân 32:17
8 Qur'ân 9:83, 96
9 Qur'ân 18:107
10 Qur'ân 19:60, 61.

11 Compare the saying of the Qur'ân, "God imposeth not on a person save what he is able to accomplish." (2:286).

12 That is, in the sight of Allah, works as evidence of a real faith are of inestimable value as compared with confession with the tongue or belief in the heart.

and his grace, yet that is after he prepares by his obedience and his worship;

"for the mercy of Allah is near to the doer of good deeds."[13]

And if it should be said also he attains it by faith alone,[14] we reply, Yes, but when does he attain ? how many a difficult aclivity meets him before he arrives ! the first of these aclivities is the aclivity of faith : will he be escape plunder (of his faith) or not ? and when he arrives he will be a bankrupt {sinner}.[15] As Ḥasan[16] said : Allah the Exalted says to his worshippers on the day of resurrection, "[Oh my worshippers,] enter into the Garden by my mercy and partake of it by [the measure of] your works."

VI. O youth, so long as you do not work, you do not find [a reward]. It is told that a man of the children of Israel worshipped Allah the Exalted seventy years; and Allah the Exalted desired to display him to the angels, so Allah sent an angel to him to inform him that with that worship, he was not worthy through it of the Garden; and when he informed him, the worshipper replied, "We are created for worship, and we can but worship him." And when the angel returned he said, "O my God, thou knowest best what he said." And Allah the Exalted said, "Since he did not withdraw {[from worshipping us]}, so we with grace will not withdraw from him. Bear witness, oh my angels, that I have forgiven him." The Apostle of Allah said,[1] Allah bless him and grant him peace, "Reckon before you are reckoned with, and weigh before you are weighed." And 'Ali,[2] the pleasure of Allah the Exalted upon him,

13 Qur'ân 7:54.

14 Al-Ghazâli says, in the Mîzân al-'Amal : "Whoever thinks faith alone will suffice him, is ignorant of the meaning of faith." (p. 82).

15 If the Arabic word be read جنيا as in our text, the phrase would read : "bankrupt, possessed by a jinn." The MSS. however, prefer جنبا which means "sinner". Hammer-Purgstall has translated the phrase : "wahnsinnig und bankernt" although his Arabic text reads : جنبا مفلسا

16 Ḥasan al-Baṣri was born in Medîna, the son of a woman who was slave to one of Moḥammed's wives. He received his liberty and removed to Baṣrah, where he became an ascetic and leader of orthodox theology, unfolding the doctrines of the Qur'ân in strictest terms. One of his pupils, Wâṣil bin 'Aṭa withdrew from his master and is the reputed founder of the school of the Mu'tazilites. He died in 110/728.

VI. 1 In the *Alchemy of Happiness*, Ghazâli assigns this saying to the Caliph Omar. See Claude Field Alchemy of Happiness, London, 1910, p. 75.

2 'Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, the fourth Caliph in the Sunnite list, but accounted by all Shi'ite sects to be the first legitimate successor of the Prophet.

said, "Whoever thinks that without exertion he shall reach the garden he is a (vain) desirer; and whoever thinks that by great exertion he shall arrive, he is an acquirer."[3] And Ḥasan said, the mercy of Allah upon him, "Seeking the garden without working is a serious fault." He also said, "The sign of the real thing is in giving up regard for the work, not in giving up the work." And the Prophet said, upon him be blessing and peace, "The shrewd man is whoever judges himself, and works for what is after death, and the stupid man is the one whose soul follows its passionate desires, and (vainly) longs for Allah the Exalted."[4]

VII. O youth, how many nights you have remained awake repeating science and poring over books and have denied yourself sleep ! I do not know what the purpose of it was. If it was attaining worldly ends and securing its vanities and acquiring its dignities and surpassing your contemporaries, and such like,[1] woe to you, and again woe; but if your purpose in it was the vitalizing of the Law of the Prophet, Allah bless him and grant him peace, and the training of your character, and breaking the soul commanding to evil,[2] then blessed are you and again blessed. and so he spoke truly who said :

Wakefulness of eyes for other than thine own face is no gain
And weeping of eyes for other than thine own loss is all vain.

3 See Collation of Variant Readings, folio 93b., 1. 18. The contrast is between the attitude of the man who trusts in his faith alone and falsely feels secure and at ease, and the man who seeks to show his faith by his works (cf. James 2:18) and does thus actually receive God's approval.

4 In the Itḥâf, v. i, p. 12, this same saying is quoted, but the last phrase reads :

وتمنّى على الله المغفرة

VII. 1 Abu Hurairah says, "The second (person to receive sentence on the day of the resurrection), a man who shall have obtained knowledge and instructed others, and read the Koran, He will be brought into the presence of God, and will be given to understand the benefits he had received, which he will be sensible of and confess : and God will say, 'What didst thou do in gratitude therefor ?' He will reply, 'I learned knowledge and taught others, and I read the Koran to please thee.' Then God will say, 'Thou liest, but thou studiest that people might call thee learned, and thou didst read the Koran for the name of the thing.' Then God will order him to be dragged upon his face, and precipitated into hell." Quoted in Mishcât, v. i, p. 56. Cabbin Malic is quoted also as follows : "The Prophet said, 'he who desires knowledge in order to be honored in the world or to dispute with the ignorant, and to attract the notice of mankind, God will throw him into hell fire.' " Mishcât, v. i, p. 60.

2 See Appended Note on *The Wonders of the Heart*.

VIII. O youth, live as you will, you are mortal ![1] and love what you will, you will leave it ! and do what you will, you will be rewarded accordingly ! [2]

IX. O youth, so what have you gained from the acquisition of the science of dogmatic theology and from disputation and medicine and "diwans" and poetry and astronomy and prosody and syntax and morphology except squandering life ? By the splendor of the Possessor of splendor,[1] assuredly I saw in the gospel of 'Îsa,[2] upon our prophet and upon him be peace, (that) he said : "From the moment in which the dead is placed on the bier until he is placed on the edge of the tomb Allah the Exalted in His majesty[3] will ask him forty questions; the first is, he will say : 'O my servant, you have purified (yourself in) the sight of mankind for years and not for one hour have you purified (yourself in) my sight, while every day I look in your heart; so I say, as for what you do for another, while you are encompassed by my good gifts, are you not deaf, unheeding ?' "

X. O youth, knowledge without work is insanity and work without knowledge is vanity (lit., cannot be). Know that any science which does not remove you today far from apostasy, and does not carry you to obedience, will not remove you tomorrow from the fire of Hell, and if you do not work today and do not amend the past days, you will say tomorrow in the day of resurrection, "Send us back, we will do good work other than what we were accustomed to do"; and it will be said to you, O thou stupid one, thence thou comest !

XI. O youth, let energy be in the spirit,[1] defeat in the soul and

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VIII. 1 Abu-Bakr is reported to have said, "To every man saluted in the morning among his people, death is nearer than the lachet of his shoes." Iḥyâ', Quarter II, Book 8, Section 2.

2 Qur'ân (28:84) says : "Whose doeth good shall have reward beyond its merits, and whoso doeth evil, they who do evil shall be rewarded only as they shall have wrought."

IX. 1 I follow the un-emended text here. See also the Collations of Arabic Texts at this point, folio 94a, l. 9.

2 The Moslem world knows Jesus under the name of 'Îsa. In the Qur'ân he is called 'Îsa , 'Îsa son of Miriam, and the Messiah. He is also described as the Word of God (4:169), a Spirit of God (4:170; 19:31), Prophet (19:31), Illustrious in this World and the Next (3:40), and One of those who have near access to God (3:40).

3 The commentary of Khâdimi (published text C) explains this phrase : "apparently without the means of an angel".

X. 1 Qur'ân 32:12.

XI. 1 See Appended Note on *The Wonders of the Heart*. Cf. this with Paul's discussion of flesh, mind and spirit, in Rom. 7 and 8.

death in the body; for your abode is the grave and the people of the graves are awaiting you at every moment; take care, beware lest you arrive without provision for the journey. And Au Bakr[2] the Veracious said, the pleasure of Allah upon him, "these bodies are a cage for birds {or} a stable for animals, so consider for yourself of which you are; if you are of the lofty birds, then when you hear the roll [of the drum], return, fiy, climbing upward until you sit in the highest towers of the Garden. As said the Apostle of Allah, upon him blessing and peace, "the throne of the Compassionate shook at the death of Sa'îd bin Mu'âdh, the pleasure of Allah upon him."[3] And seek refuge in Allah if you are of the beasts, as Allah the Exalted said, "These are like the cattle, but they go more astray."[4] So do not consider yourself safe from removal from a corner of the court (of Paradise) to the depths of the fire.

It is told that Ḥasan el-Baṣri, Allah the Exalted have mercy {upon him}, was given a drink of cold water, and when he took the cup he swooned and the cup fell from his hand; and when he recovered he was asked, "What happened, O Abu Sa'îd ?" He replied, "I thought of the longing of the people of the fire when they say to the people of the Garden, Pour upon us from the water [{or from what Allah has bestowed upon you;} they replied that Allah had forbidden these for the infidels]."

XII. O youth, if knowledge alone were sufficient for you and you did not need work besides, then would his summons[1]—Is there any who asks ? and, is there any who seeks forgiveness ? and, is there any who repents ?—be lost without profit. It is related that a group of the Companions, the pleasure of Allah the Exalted upon them all, mentioned

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2 Abu-Bakr was the father of 'Aîsha, whom Moḥammed married when she was nine. He was one of Moḥammed's first followers among the Quraysh, and the first Caliph or successor of Moḥammed. He is praised for the purity of his life, and is called by Muslim writers, the Veracious.

3 Sa'îd bin Mu'âdh, was a chief of the Beni Aus. He embraced Islâm at Medinah, and died of wounds received in battle of the Ditch AH 5. The tradition is a favorite one, quoted by many of the collectors of tradition. Ibn Hanbal refers to it in the Musnad, v. iii, pp. 23f., 234, 295f., 316, 327, 349; v. iv, p. 352; v. vi, pp. 329, 456. The name is preferably spelled Sa'd b. Mu'âz (سعد بن معاز)

4 Qur'ân 7:178.

XII. 1 The Qur'ân says (40:62) "And your Lord saith, 'Call upon me—I will hearken unto you.' " And Ghazâli in the Iḥyâ' (Book IV of Quarter I, Asrâr al-Ṣalaḥ) says, "He differs from kings, for all His unique majesty and grandeur, in inspiring His creation to ask and supplicate, for He says : 'Is there any who supplicates ? I will answer him !' and, 'Is there any who asks forgiveness ? I will forgive him !' "

'Abdallah bin 'Umar,[2] the pleasure of Allah upon him, before the Apostle of Allah, upon whom be blessing and peace. He said, "An excellent man he, if only he would pray at night."[3] And he said, upon him blessing and peace, to a man from his Companions, "Oh N. N., do not increase sleep at night, for much sleep leaves its owner poor in the day of resurrection."

XIII. O youth; "and awake at night to pray; [as a supererogatory[1] service] for you"[2]—a command; "and at dawn they were seeking pardon"[3] —a praise;[4] "and they who seek pardon at daybreak"[5]—a remembrance.[6] The Prophet, Allah the Exalted bless him and give him peace, said,[7] "Three voices Allah the Exalted loves : the voice of the cock[8] and the voice of one who reads the Qur'ân, and the voice of those seeking forgiveness in the early morning." And Sufyân al-Thowri[9] said :

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2 'Abdallah b. 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭâb, eldest son of the Caliph 'Umar I, one of the most respected of the Companions, born before the Hijrah, d. A. H. 693. Through his intimate intercourse with Muḥammed he acquired an exact knowledge of the early period of Islam, and he is the author of many trditions.

3 The tradition is related by Ibn Hanbal (Musnad, v. ii, p. 146). The story concludes, "And (after that) 'Abdallah slept very little at night."

XIII. 1 Worship is of two classes—prescribed or obligatory فرائض and supererogatory نوافل . Special virtue is supposed to attach to the performance of the supererogatory prayers, since they show excessive zeal. Their performance secures reward, although the omitting of them is allowable and not punished. Book IV of Quarter I, Chapter 7, of Iḥyâ', deals with Supererogatory Worship. I retain the phrase in [ ] because it is found in most MSS., and is so in the Qur'ân.

2 Qur'ân 17:81. 3 Qur'ân 51:18.

4 Book II of Quarter IV of Iḥyâ' deals with the subjects of Patience and Praise

5 Qur'ân 3:15.

6 In Iḥyâ', Book IV of Quarter I, chapter 7 dealing with Supererogatory Worship, Ghazâli says : "During the time between the morning worship and the appearance of the sun the most liked thing is the remembrance (ذكر —also translated invocation) and meditation (فكر) and confining one's self to the two prostrations of the dawn and the prescribed worship." He also devotes Book IX of Quarter I of the Iḥyâ' to Remembrances (اذكار) and Invocations (دعوات). For a brief discussion of (ذكر) see Calverly pp. 31-32.

7 I fail to find the source of this traditional saying.

8 Because by its crowing it awakens sleepers to pray.

9 Abu 'Abd Allah Sufyân b. Sa'id b. Masrûk al-Thowri al-Kûfi, a celebrated theologian, traditionalist and ascetic of the second century A. H. He was one of the old school of pious men who showed their dislike of the new

"Allah the Exalted {created} a breeze which blows at the time of the dawn, which carries the invocations and the petitions for forgiveness to the Supreme[10] King." And he also said, "When it is the beginning of night the herald cried from below the throne, Up ! let the worshippers arise ! and they arise and pray what Allah the Exalted wills; then the herald cries at midnight, Up ! let the fully devoted arise ! and they arise and pray till dawn; and when it is dawn, the herald cries, Up ! let those asking forgiveness arise ! and they arise and seek forgiveness; and when the day breaks, the herald cries, Up ! let the heedless arise ! and they arise from their beds as the dead are resuscitated from their graves."

XIV. O youth, it is told in the testaments of Luqmân[1] the Wise to his son that he said, "O my son, let not the cock be more clever than you—he cries at the time of dawn while you are sleeping !" Assuredly he did well who said :

The pigeon cooed in the darkness of night
  On a branch, in weakness, while I was asleep.
I lied; for I swear that were I (His) loved
  Not the pigeons alone, but I too would weep;
I think I am lovesick, excessively lovelorn
  For my Lord—but I weep not, though animals weep !

XV. O youth, the substance of knowledge is to learn what are obedience and worship. Know that obedience and worship are conforming to the law in commands and prohibitions in word and deed—that is, whatever you say and do and omit in word and deed must be in emulation of the law-giver. Thus, if you fast on the feast day and the days of "tashriq"[1] you are rebellious; or (if you) pray in a garment taken by

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regime by refusing to accept offices in the government service. Because of the wrath thus aroused he had to flee from Kûfa to Yamen, and finally to Baṣra, where he died in 161/778. He was one of the first to put into writing the traditions current in his time.

10 Lane in AEL explains جبّار as applied to God to mean "The Compeller of his creatures to do whatsoever he willeth" or "The Compeller of his creatures to obey the commands and prohibitions which He pleaseth to impose upon them . . . it is also explained as meaning the Supreme; the High above His creatures; or the Unattainable."

XIV. 1 Luqmân was a legendary figure of pre-Islamic paganism, famous for his wise sayings and fables. He is referred to in the Qur'ân, Sûrah 31.

XV. 1 ايام التشريق This phrase refers to the 11th, 12th and 13th days of Dhu-'l-Ḥijjeh, following the day of sacrifice, because the flesh of the victims was cut into strips and spread in the sun to dry; or because the victims were not sacrificed until the sun rose; or from the prayer of the day of sacrifice, which they follow. It is said in a tradition that these are days of eating and drinking and celebrating the praises of Allah. (See Lane A E L).

violence, though it has the form of worship, yet you sin.

XVI. O youth, so it is essential that your word and deed be in agreement with the law, since knowledge and work without emulation of the law-giver is a delusion. And it is essential that you be not deceived by the ecstatic utterances and vehement cries of the Ṣûfis,[1] because walking this road is by struggle[2] and cutting off the lusts of the soul and killing its desires with the sword of discipline,[3] not by vehement cries and idle words. And know that the loosened tongue[4] and the veiled heart filled with negligence and lust, is the sign of misery, so that if you do not kill the fleshly soul with sincere struggle, you will not quicken your heart by the lights of knowledge.[5]

And know that certain of your questions which you asked me cannot be answered in writing and in speech; if you attain that state you will know what they are; and if not, knowing them is impossible; for they are known by experience,[6] and whatever is known by experience cannot be described in words, as the sweetness of the sweet or the bitterness of the bitter cannot be known except by experience. As it is said that an impotent man wrote to a friend. "Tell me about the delight of sexual intercourse, how it is." And he wrote in answer, "Oh N. N., I have accounted you only

XVI. 1 See Appended Note on *The "Way" of the Moslem Mystic.*

2 God has said 'Those who strive to the utmost (jâhadu) for Our sake, we will guide them into our ways'. (Qur'ân 29:29). And the Prophet said : 'The mujâhid is he who struggles with all his might against himself (jahada nafsahu) for God's sake'. And he also said 'We have returned from the lesser war (al-jihâd al-aṣghar) to the greater war (al-jihâd al-akbar)'. On being asked, 'What is the greater war ?' he replied, 'It is the struggle against one's self' (mujâhadat al-nafs).—Quoted in Hujwiri's Kashf al-Maḥjûb, p. 200.

3 Book II of Quarter III of Iḥyâ' treats of the Discipline of the Soul, the Nurture of the Character and the Cure for the Sicknesses of the Heart.

4 Ghazâli, in Iḥyâ', Book VII, Quarter I, c. 3, says, ". . . . the moving of the tongue in nonsense is easy for the negligent ! . . . The object is uttering letters in so far as they are intelligent, and they do not become intelligent unless they express what is in the consciousness, and they do not become such an expression except the heart be present. And what supplication is there in saying 'Guide us in the straight road', if the heart is negligent . . . . For what hardship is there in moving the tongue with it, if the heart be negligent." Book 4 of Quarter III treats of the Evils of the Tongue.

5 The Arabic word is معرفة . See Appended Note on *The Wonders of the Heart.*

6 The Arabic word is ذوق . See Appended Note on *The "Way" of the Moslem Mystic.*

impotent, but now I know that you are both impotent and foolish; assuredly this delight is known by experience; if you attain it you will know it, and if not, it cannot be described in writing or speech."

XVII. O youth, certain of your questions are of this sort; but the portion which can be answered we have mentioned in The Vitalizing of the Sciences of Religion and elsewhere [in what we have written, with its explanation, so seek it there]; and we will mention here a portion of them and point them out. And we say : [for the traveller in the way of truth seven things are necessary] the first is, a true conviction that has in it no heresy; and the second, a sincere repentance, after which you do not return to sin; and third, the satisfaction of adversaries, so that there shall remain to no one a claim against you; and the fourth, the attainment of a knowledge of the laws, sufficient that by it you may perform the commands of Allah the Exalted; then of the sciences of future things, what is essential for salvation [and more than this is not obligatory;[1] and this saying will be understood by a story] . It is told that Shibli,[2] the mercy of Allah, upon him, said : "I served four hundred professors and read four thousand traditions; then I selected from them a single tradition by which I worked, and left off the others; for I meditated and found my salvation and safety in it, and all the knowledge of the ancients and the moderns was included in it, and I was content with it; and that was, that the Apostle, Allah bless him and give him peace, said to one of his Companions, "Work for your world according to your position in it, and work for your other world according to the length of your remaining in it, and work for Allah the Exalted according to your need of Him, and work for the fire according to your endurance it it." [3]

XVIII. O youth, if you know {[work by]} this tradition there is no need of further knowledge; and think upon another story, namely, that Ḥâtim al-Aṣamm[1] was among the friends of Shaqîq al-Balkhi,[2]

XVII. 1 But cf. Section xix l. 1 ff. There is confusion if the glosses are accepted.

2 Abu Bakr Dulâf al-Shibli, a Sunni Mystic born in Baghdâd, and died there in 334/945. He was first an official of the government, but later became an ascetic and Mystic. His vagaries were so pronounced that for a time he was confined in a lunatic asylum.

3 I do not find the source of this traditional saying.

XVIII. 1 Abu 'Abd al-Raḥmân Ḥâtim b. 'Unnân al-Aṣamm, died 237/851. Al-Hujwiri says (p. 115) "He was one of the great men of Balkh and one of the ancient shaykhs of Khorasan, a disciple of Shaqîq. . . . Junayd said, 'Ḥâtim al-Aṣamm is the veracious one of our time.' "

2 Shaqîq b. Ibrahîm al-Balkhi was one of the earliest group of Mystics, who

the mercy of Allah upon them both. [It occurred to him] and he (Shaqîq) asked him one day, and said: "These thirty years you have associated with me—what have you gained in them?" He replied, "I have gained eight benefits from science and they suffice me with it, because I hope for my salvation and safety in them." And Shaqîq said, "What are they?" And Ḥâtim replied:

"The first benefit is that I observed mankind and saw that everyone had a loved one and one passionately desired whom he loved and longed for; and certain of those loved accompanied him to the illness of death and others to the border of the tomb, then each returned and left him alone and lonely, and there did not enter with him into the tomb and comfort him in it {[one of them; so I considered and said, the most excellent beloved of man is what enters into the tomb and comforts him in it]}[3]; and I found it to be nothing else than good works, so I took this as my beloved, [to be] a light for me in my grave, and to comfort me in it and not leave me alone.

"The second benefit is that I saw that mankind were following their lusts and hastening towards the desires of their souls, and I meditated on the saying of the Exalted—"But as for whoever has feared the majesty of his Lord, and has refrained his soul from lust, truly the Garden shall be his dwelling place."[4] And I was convinced that the Qur'ân was sincere truth and so I hastened to deny my soul and hurried to combat it and refuse it its passionate desires so that it become trained to obedience to Allah the Exalted, and it became tractable.

"And the third benefit is that I saw that everyone of the people struggled to collect the vanities of the world, then he seized them, closing his hand upon them. So I reflected upon the saying of the Exalted, "What is with you vanishes, but what is with Allah abides."[5] So I gave freely my worldly possessions for the face of Allah[6] the Exalted and

died before 200/815. He laid special stress on trust (توكّل), which is practically synonymous with complete passivity. One of his sayings, quoted in Nicholson's Literary History of the Arabs, p. 233, is "Nine-tenths of devotion consists in flight from mankind, the remaining tenth in silence." Al-Hujwiri says (p. 111) he was "versed in all the sciences... and composed many works on various branches of Ṣûfiism."

3 This line is omitted in our text, evidently an error of homoeoteleuton.

4 Qur'ân 79:40, 41. 5 Qur'ân 16:98, Cf. also Luke 12:21.

6 For a discussion of the expression "face of Allah" see Macdonald, Aspects of Islam, pp. 186 ff., 201 f.

distributed them among the poor to be a treasure for me with Allah the Exalted.

"The fourth benefit is that I saw that certain of mankind thought their honor and their glory to be in the multitude of their family and their kinsfolk and they were beguiled by them, while others considered this to be in their wealth of riches and the multitude of children [and property] and they boasted [of this]; and a portion reckoned glory [and honor] to consist in seizing the riches of people by violence and oppressing them and shedding their blood; and a section believed that it lay in squandering riches and in dissipating them and in prodigality. And I meditated upon the saying of the Exalted, "The most worthy of you in the sight of Allah is he who fears him most."[7] So I chose reverent fear and was convinced that the Qur'ân is sincere truth and their thoughts and reckonings were empty and fleeting.

"The fifth benefit is that I saw that certain of the people censured one another and slandered one another and I saw that this arose from envy in the matter of riches and rank and knowledge, and I meditated upon the saying of the Exalted: "It is we who divide their substance among them in this world's life."[8] And I knew that the division was from Allah the Exalted [in eternity, so I did not envy anyone and I was satisfied with the distribution of Allah the Exalted].[9]

"The sixth benefit is that I saw the people treat one another with enmity for a motive or purpose; and so I meditated upon the saying of the Exalted: "Truly Satan is your enemy; for an enemy then hold him."[10] And so I knew that enmity was not permissible to any other than Satan.

"The seventh benefit is that I saw that everyone struggled energetically and endeavored excessively to seek provisions and a means of living, from which he fell into doubt and forbidden things and debased himself and diminished his worth. And I meditated upon the saying of the Exalted: "There is no moving thing on earth whose nourishment dependeth not upon Allah."[11] And so I knew that my provision depended on Allah and he had guaranteed it, so I busied myself in worshipping him, and cut off my covetousness of all else than He.

7 Qur'ân 49:13. 8 Qur'ân 43:31.

9 This line is omitted in our text, evidently also an error of homoeoteleuton.

10 Qur'ân 35:6. 11 Qur'ân 11:8.

"The eighth benefit is that I saw that everyone relied on some created thing, some on the dinâr[12] and dirhem, some on {[wealth and]} property, some on trade and craft, and some on a similar created thing. And I meditated upon the saying of the Exalted: "Truly whosoever putteth his trust in Allah, He will be suffcient. Truly Allah will attain his purpose. He has made for everything a fixed period."[13] So I relied upon Allah and he is my sufficiency and an excellent guardian.[14]

And Shaqîq said, "Allah grant you success;[15] [O Ḥâtim verily I have considered the Taurah and the Evangel and the Psalms and the Qur'ân and I have found that the four books turn upon these eight benefits, and whoever works according to them is working according to these four books."]

XIX. O youth, you have perceived from these two words[1] that you are not in need of multiplying knowledge, and now I will show you what is obligatory for the traveller in the path of truth. Know that it is indispensable for the traveller to have a shaykh as guide and tutor, to expel from him the evil qualities by his training and to replace them with an excellent character; and the meaning of training resembles {[the act of]} the plowman who digs out the thorns and removes the wild plants [from among the sown] to stimulate its growth and make it thrive perfectly, [for Allah the Exalted sent to his worshipper his Apostle for guidance to his path and when he, upon him peace, departed from the world he left behind him the Caliphs in his place, in order that they should guide mankind to Allah, because of this function].[2] And it is

12 The dinâr was the standard gold coin and the dirham the standard silver coin of the Arabs, whose value varied from time to time. The use of the two together is roughly the equivalent of the modern American expression "the Almighty Dollar", or the more classical expression "gold and silver".

13 Qur'ân 65:3.

14 The word وكيل signifies a steward or trustee or deputy. But as applied to Allah, it is in the sense of protector or guardian. Cf. Qur'ân 3:167; 6:102; 11:15; 12:66.

15 Hammer-Purgstall translates these words "Gott hat dich mit Seiner Vorsicht geleitet." But the Arabic وفقك الله is the regular use of the perfect tense to express wishes, prayers or curses.

XIX. 1 MSS. 1 and 2 read كلمتين a.o. حكايتين

2 This section [ ] seems to be required by the reference to the "substitute for the Prophet" four lines below. It is omitted by MSS. 3, 4, 12, 18, 21, 23, 24, 25. If it belongs to the original text, I venture to suggest that it is misplaced in MSS. 1 and 2 margin, and should be inserted after the sentence immediately following.

necessary for the traveller to have a shaykh to train him and guide him to the path of Allah. And the sign of the shaykh who is fitted to be the substitute for the Prophet, upon him be blessing and peace, is that he be learned—not that every learned one is fitted for it; and I will show you certain indications in a general way so that not every one shall pretend he is a learned guide. And we say, one who removes himself far from love of the world and love of rank, and has succeeded a discerning[3] person who traces his successorship to the Lord of the apostles, and has excelled in disciplining himself in scarcity of food and sleep and speech and in abundance of prayer and alms and fasting, and who, in following the discerning shaykh, is making the good qualities of character his way of life, such as endurance and thanksgiving and trustfulness and conviction and generosity and contentment and tranquility of soul and moderation and humility and knowledge and veracity and modesty and trustworthiness and gravity and quietness and staidness and similar traits; and then he is light from the lights of the Prophet, upon him be blessing and peace, and he is worthy to be imitated; but the presence of such as he is rare, more precious than red sulphur.[4] And whomever fortune aids to find a shaykh such as we have mentioned, and the shaykh accepts him, he must honor him outwardly and inwardly.[5]

Now outward honor is that he should not dispute with him and not labor in argumentation with him {[in every question even if he knows his (the shaykh's) mistake, and should not put down his prayer carpet before him except at the time of the instituting of prayer, and when he finishes should lift it up]}, and should not multiply the supererogatory[6] prayers in his presence, and should do what the shaykh commands him according to his capacity and his ability.

But inner honor is that all he hears and accepts from him outwardly he should not deny inwardly, neither in deed nor in word, lest he be branded[7] with hypocrisy; and if this be not possible, that he should

3 Reading بصير instead of يصير

4 The Commentary of Khâdimi says, "This is said to be stone which shines by night. It is told that Solomon placed a piece in the dome of the temple and it gave light for a distance of a mile so that the women could spin wool by its light."

5 Al-Ghazâli discusses the duties of teacher and taught at length in the Iḥyâ', Quarter I, Book I, c. 5; also in the Mîzân al-'Amal and in the Badâyat al-Hidâyah.

6 See Section XIII; note 1.

7 Hammer-Purgstall translates the verb يسم as though it were يُسم "vergiftet werde", deriving it from سم instead of from وسم

desert his companionship until his inner life agrees with his outer; and he should guard against association with the evil man so that he may curtail the province of the Satans of the "jinn" and mankind from the court of his heart, and may be purified from the stain of Satanic filth; and at all events he will prefer poverty more than wealth.

Then know that becoming a Ṣûfi has two characteristics : uprightness with Allah the Exalted, and quietness with mankind; and whoever is upright, and improves his character among the people, and treats them with forbearance, he is a Ṣûfi. And uprightness is that he offer the pleasures of his soul as a ransom for the sake of his soul;[8] and goodness of conduct among men is that you do not burden people according to your own desire, but burden yourself according to their desire so long as they do not violate the sacred law.

Then you asked me about devotion; it comprises three things; first, the careful observance of the command of the sacred law; second, satisfaction with decree and fate and the lot of Allah the Exalted;[9] and third, forsaking pleasing yourself in order to seek the pleasure of Allah the Exalted.

And you asked me about trust :[10] it is that you seek to fortify your belief in Allah the Exalted as to what he has promised; that is, that you believe that what he has fated for you will come to you without fail, although anyone in the world endeavors to prevent it; and what is not written for you, you shall not attain, though all the world help you.

And you asked me about sincerity :[11] it is that all your works be done for Allah the Exalted, your heart not resting content with the praise of people nor despairing with their censure. Know that hypocrisy is born from exalting mankind and the cure is that you see them forced to labor[12] under the decree (of Allah) and reckon them like inanimate

8 This phrase is difficult to translate concisely and accurately. The point is that he should deny the lusts and desires of his fleshly soul, in order to redeem his higher soul for Allah.

9 There is a traditional saying to the effect that when a man is satisfied with Allah's decrees, it is a sign that Allah is satisfied with him.

10 Book 5 and Quarter IV of the Iḥyâ' treats of the Unity of God and Trust.

11 Book VII of Quarter IV of the Iḥyâ' treats of Sincerity and Veracity.

12 Two interpretations are possible here, either, see them forced to labor under the decree of Allah; or, see them laughing-stocks under the decree of Allah. Hammer-Purgstall takes this latter meaning, and translates the phrase, 'das du sie betrachtest als Fratzen der Macht.' But this translation requires the Arabic word مسخرين while the MSS. give مسخّرين which is the regularly employed word for forced labor.

objects in their inability to attain contentment and misery, in order to escape from hypocrisy in their sight; and as long as you reckon them as possessing power and free will, hypocrisy will not be far from you.

XX. O youth, the remainder of your questions—a portion are covered in my writings, so seek them there; and setting down others in writing is forbidden : work by what you know, there will be revealed to you what you do not know.[1]

XXI. O youth, after today ask me what is obscure for you (only) by the tongue of the heart.[1] The saying of the Exalted, "and had they waited patiently until you came forth to them, it had been better for them."[2] And accept the admonition of Khiḍr,[3] upon our Prophet and upon him be blessing and peace, "And do not ask me about anything until I mention it unto you."[4] And do not be in a hurry to reach the time, when it shall be revealed to you. And have you seen, "I will show you my signs so do not be in a hurry."[5] So do not ask me before the time. And be certain that you will not reach (that time) except by travelling. "Have they not travelled through the earth, and seen? "[6]

XXII. O youth, by Allah, if you travel, you shall see the wonders in every station. Give your spirit unsparingly, for the core of this matter

XX. 1 When Dawud Ṭa'i had acquired learning and become a famous authority, he went to Abu Ḥanîfah and said to him : "What shall I do now ?" Abu Ḥanîfah replied : "Practice what you have learned, for theory without practice is like a body without a spirit."—Hujwiri's Kashf al-Maḥjûb, p. 95.

XXI. 1 The Arabic phrase is بلسان الجنان which may mean either : (1) the tongue of the Garden الجِنان or (2) the tongue of the heart, or of the veil الجَنان I have accepted the latter, following the two vowelled MSS. 18 and 22, and the Commentary of Khâdimi, which explains this as "the tongue of a State."

2 Qur'ân 49:5.

3 A mysterious person, identified with Elijah, or St. George, supposed to have drunk from the fountain of life, located in the S. W. quarter of the earth, in the Ẓulumât or darkness of the Muḥîṭ, the regions surrounding the known (to Arabs) inhabited earth. As a result, he still lives, and will live to the day of Judgment. But tradition makes him originally a just man and saint, wazîr and counsellor of the first Dhû-l-Qurnain, a universal conqueror, contemporary of Abraham. He appears to Muslims in perplexity, usually clad in green. In the day time, he wanders on sea and directs travellers who go astray; Elijah does the same for travellers in mountains or deserts, for those led away by the Ghûl. See Lane TON v.i., p. 21.

4 Qur'ân 18:69. 5 Qur'ân 21:38.

6 The verse in full reads : "Have they not travelled through the earth, and seen the end of those who were before them ?" Qur'ân 30:6.

is in applying your spirit abundantly; as said Dhu 'l-Nûn al Muṣri,[1] the mercy of Allah, to one of the students, "If you are able to give your spirit without reserve, come; and if not, then do not busy yourself with the idle practices of Mysticism."

XXIII. O youth, verily I admonish you in eight things; receive them from me lest your knowledge become your adversary in the day of resurrection.[1] Perform four of them and avoid four of them. These you are to avoid are, first, do not argue with any one in any matter, as far as you are able, for in this is great mischief, and its evil is greater than its benefit, since it is the source of every blameworthy quality : such as hypocrisy and envy and pride and malice and enmity and boasting and other such. Of course, if there arises a question between you and an individual or group and it is your purpose in it that the truth should appear and not be lost, discussion is permissible. But there are two signs of such a desire, first that it makes no difference whether the truth is revealed by your tongue or the tongue of another;[2] and second, that discussion in private is preferred by you rather than in public.

And listen, for here I call your attention to a helpful point : know that the question about obscure points is the presenting of the disease of the heart[3] to a physician, and its answer is the attempt to cure[4] his disease. And know that the ignorant are diseased in their hearts and the learned[5] are the doctors, and the partially learned cannot perfect the treatment; and the perfectly learned does not treat every sick person, but every one who will, he hopes, accept the treatment and the cure. And if the weakness is chronic or fatal, (and) incurable, then he will not labor to give medicine, for this is a waste of time.

XXII. 1 Abu 'l-Fayḍ Thawbân b. Ibrahîm, to whom the sobriquet Dhû 'l-Nûn (the Possessor of the Fish) was given because of one of his miracles, was of Nubian extraction. He is considered by the Mystics to be the primary author of their formulated doctrines. He died in Baghdad in 246/860.

XXIII. 1 Hammer-Purgstall translates this phrase very freely in the opposite sense, "vielleicht hilft dir deine Wissenschaft am Tage des Gerichts."

2 The Imâm al-Shâfi'i (d 204/820) is quoted in Alf Laylah wa-Laylah, night 84, as saying : "I never disputed with anyone but ...... for the showing forth of the truth, and I care not whether Allah manifest it by my tongue or by his."

3 Book I of Quarter III of Iḥyâ' treats of the wonders of the heart, and one section of Book II of this Quarter discusses the signs of sicknesses of the heart. See the Appended Notes.

4 The text is grammatically unsound and should read سعى لاصلاح as do other MSS.

5 The insertion of و is an error; the text should read والعلماء الاطباء as do other MSS.

Then know that the sickness of ignorance is of four sorts, one curable and the others incurable.[6] Of these which cannot be cured, [the first] is one whose question or objection arises from envy and hate, [and envy cannot be cured for it is a chronic weakness] and every time you answer him with the best or clearest or plainest answer, that only increases his rage and envy. And the way is not to attempt an answer.

> One hopes for the removal of every enmity
> Except enmity arising from envy.

So you must depart from him and leave him with his disease. Allah the Exalted said, "Withdraw from whoever turns away from our warning and desires nothing except the present life."[7] And the envious, both in all he says and in all he does, kindles [a fire] in the sowing of his deed : as the Prophet said, Allah bless him and grant him peace, "Envy eats up excellences as fire eats up wood."[8]

The second, whose weakness arises from stupidity, and he also is incurable. As 'Isa said, upon him be peace, "Indeed I did not fail in bringing the dead to life, but I failed in curing the stupid."[9] And he is the man who has busied himself in seeking knowledge a short time and has learned something of the sciences of the intellect and of the sacred law, and so he asks questions and raises objections in his stupidity before the very learned one who has spent his life in the sciences of the intellect and the sacred law, and so this very stupid fellow does not know, and thinks that what is obscure to him is also obscure to the highly learned; and since he does not think this much, his question arises from stupidity, and you must not attempt to answer him.

And the third is one who is seeking guidance and whatever he does not understand of the speech of the great ones, he lays to the defects of his own understanding and his question is in order to seek benefit; but he is dull and cannot arrive at the truth of things. You must not attempt to answer him also, as the Prophet, Allah bless him and give him peace, said, "We, the company of the prophets have been commanded that we speak to the people according to their understanding."[10]

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6 The marginal gloss at this point (f. 97b., l. 4) is plainly out of place; it appears in the text, f. 97b., ll. 17-19.

7 Qur'ân 53:30.

8 I do not find the source of this traditional saying.

9 I do not find the source of this traditional saying.

10 This saying is also ascribed to 'Ali b. Abi Ṭâlib. See MacDonald, *The Life of al-Ghazzâli*, in JAOS, v. xx, p. 132.

But the sickness which is curable is that of the intelligent and understanding seeker of guidance, who is not overcome with envy and anger and the love of worldly vanities and wealth and honor, but is seeking the straight road; and his questions and objections do not arise from envy and a desire to cause trouble and to make trial. And he is curable, and it is permitted to attempt to answer him—nay, it is necessary.

And the second thing to avoid is to guard against and shun becoming a preacher[11] and warner, since its michief is much unless you practice what you preach first and then preach it to the people; and consider what was said to 'Îsa, upon him be peace, "O Son of Miriam, preach to yourself, and when you have preached to yourself, then preach to others; and otherwise, be ashamed before your Lord."[12] And if you are impelled to try this work, then guard against two conditions : the first is affectation in speech in explanations and allusions[13] and vehement cries and versification and poetry because Allah the Exalted hates pretension, and the person pretentious beyond bounds gives evidence of inner confusion and a heedless heart. And the significance of warning is that the worshipper remember the fire of the future (world) so that he confine himself to the service of the Creator, and that he consider his past life which he dissipated in what did not concern him, and that he consider what is before him of obstacles to the security of faith at the end (of life) and what will be his condition in the grasp of the angel of death and will he be able to reply to Munkar and Nakîr[14] and that he be concerned with his condition in the resurrection and its stations, and will he pass

11 "I do not think myself worthy to preach; for preaching is like a tax, and the property on which it is imposed is the accepting of preaching to one's self. He, then, who has no property, how shall he pay the tax ? And he who lacks a garment, how shall he cover another ? And 'when is the shadow straight and the wood crooked ?" And God revealed to 'Îsa (upon him be peace!) 'Preach to thyself; then, if thou acceptest the preaching, preach to mankind, and if not, be ashamed before me.' "—An extract from a letter said by al-Sim'âni to have been written by al-Ghazâli, quoted in S M v. i, p. 12.

12 I do not find the source from which this traditional saying is quoted. Al-Ghazâli quotes it also in the Iḥyâ', v. i, p. 47, and elsewhere. See also preceding note. Cf. also with Lk. 4:23.

13 See Translation Section iv, footnote 5.

14 These are two angels who examine all the dead, and torture the wicked in their graves. The body of the deceased is placed on his right side so that his face is turned toward Mecca. At the grave, some one is appointed to dictate to the deceased the answers he is to make to these two angels. Book IX of Quarter IV of Iḥyâ' is devoted to the subject of Meditation and one section deals with the questions of Munkar and Nakîr.

across the bridge[15] safely or fall into the pit; and {the memory of} these things will remain in his heart and disturb his tranquility; and stirring up these fires and lamenting over these afflictions is called "warning"; and giving notice to mankind and calling their attention to these things and warning them about shortcomings and omissions and causing them to see the defects of their souls, so that the heat of these fires touch the people of the assembly, and these afflictions make them impatient to rectify the past years according to their ability, and they feel regret over the days passed in other than obedience to Allah the Exalted—all this carried out in this way is called "preaching".

It is as though you saw that a torrent was rushing suddenly upon the house of someone and he and his family were in it and you cried, "Danger, danger, flee from the flood"—And would your heart in such circumstances crave to give your message to the master of the house with pretentious explanations and witticisms and allusions? Certainly not at all. And so is the condition of the preacher and he must avoid such things.

And the second condition (to avoid) is that your concern in preaching be not that mankind become wrought up in your assembly and show excitement and tear their clothes, so that it be said "What an assembly this was": for all this is an inclination to the things of the world,[16] {[and is born from heedlessness; but your purpose and concern must be to call the people from this world]} to the future world and from apostasy to obedience, and from cupidity to abstinence, and from stinginess to generosity, and from vanities to the fear of God, and to cause them to love the future life and to hate the world, and to teach them knowledge of worship and asceticism; because the predominating tendency in their nature is deviation from the plain road of the law and exertion in that in which Allah the Exalted does not take pleasure, and busying themselves with their evil characteristics. Cast fear into their hearts and frighten them and warn them about what they will meet of terrifying things; if perchance the qualities of their inner lives shall be changed and the deeds

15 The bridge extending over the midst of Hell, finer than a hair, sharper than the edge of a sword. All creatures must pass over it on the day of judgment, the people of Paradise "passing over it with their works, some like the blinding lightning, and some like the wind sent forth, and some like coursers, and some running, and some walking, and some dragging themselves along; . . . . and the fire will say to the believer, "Pass thou over, O believer, for thy light hath extinguished my flame", and thereupon, the feet of the people of the fire will slip"—Lane in A E L, quoting from Tâj-el-'Aroos. See also Iḥyâ', Book X, Quarer IV, a section near the close of c. 8.

16 Here also a line is omitted in the text, through homoeoteleuton.

of their outer lives shall be transformed and there appear a craving and desire for obedience and a return from apostasy. And this is the method of preaching and of admonition, and all preaching which is not of this sort is a pest for both him who speaks and him who hears; nay, it is even said to be a ghûl[17] and a satan, which carries off mankind on the road, and destroys them; and they must flee from it, because what this speaker corrupts of their religion, Satan himself is not able to do; and whoever has power and authority must bring him down from the pulpits of the Muslims and forbid him from what he has proclaimed,—on account of the word "enjoining fairness and forbidding evil."[18]

And the third thing to avoid is not to mix with the princes and Sultans[19] and not to see them; for seeing them and sitting with them and mixing with them is great mischief; and if you are impelled to do this, avoid praising them and commending them, for Allah the Exalted is angered when an oppressor and an impious man is praised and whoever has called for the lengthening of their lives has delighted that Allah be disobeyed in his land.

And the fourth thing to avoid is not to accept anything of the gifts and presents of princes,[20] though you know it is permissible, because coveting things from them corrupts religion, since there is born from it flattery and "kotowing" to them and approving of their oppression, and all this is corruption of religion; and the least of its evils is that if you

17 Ghûl—one of the inferior order of evil jinn, that eats men; described by some as an enchanter who assumes various forms—animals, human beings, monstrous shapes; haunts burial grounds; kills and devours any human creature who falls in its way; appears to travellers at night in lonely places in guise of a fellow-traveller. An authority says, "Ghûl is any Jinni that is opposed to travellers, and assumes various forms and appearances." Properly speaking, it is applied only to a female demon; the male is called qutrub. See Lane TON, v. i, p. 32.

18 This phrase occurs frequently in the Qur'ân; cf. e.g. 3:100, 106, 110; 7:156, etc. Ghazâli in Iḥyâ' Book IX, Quarter II, discusses this subject fully.

19 A Sultan is higher than king or viceroy, and has kings and viceroys under him. Chapter 6 of Book IV and chapter 4 of Book IX, of Quarter II of the Iḥyâ', deal with Intercourse with Sultans.

20 'Abdullah Ibn 'Abbâs d. 68/687, one of the Companions of the Prophet, relates that the Prophet said, "Verily some of the people of my sect learn the knowledge of religion and read the Qur'ân; and say, we will go to the great, and take something of the world from them, and retire from them with our own religion. But such things cannot be; like as the tree of thorns from which nothing can be gathered but thorns, in such manner nothing can be gathered from the society of the great but sin and vice." Mishcât ul-Maṣâbîḥ, vol. i, p. 66. Similarly it is reported (Alf Lailah wa-Lailah, night 84) that Abu Ḥanîfa (d. 150/767) refused a salary from the Caliph, "lest the love of tyrants get a hold on my heart."

accept their gifts and benefit from their world, you become fond of them; and whoever loves one necessarily loves the prolonging of his life and presence, and in loving the continuance of the life of the oppressor there is a willingness for the oppression of the worshippers of Allah the Exalted and a willingness for the ruination of the learned man. And what is more injurious than this to religion, and the future life? Have a care—have a care—lest the fascination of the Satan prove deceptive. Or some one will say to you that it is better and preferable to take the gold and silver from them and distribute it among the poor and needy; for they are disbursing it in profligacy and apostacy, and your spending it upon the weak among the people is better than their spending it; and verily the Cursed One has cut off the necks of many people by this evil whispering;[21] and its mischief is excessive. We have mentioned this in the Vitalizing of the Sciences of Religion, so seek it there.

Now the four things you must do are first: that you make your dealings with Allah the Exalted such that, if your servant acted thus with you, you would be pleased with him and you would not withdraw your good will from him nor become angry; and what you are not pleased with for yourself in your paid servant, Allah the Exalted is not pleased with in you, and He is your true Lord; second, in all your dealings with people, treat them as you would be pleased to be treated by them, because the faith of a worshipper is not complete until he loves for other people what he loves for himself; third, if you read or study science, it must be a science which corrects your heart and purifies your soul; as if you knew that your life would not be prolonged more than a week, necessarily you would not busy youself in it in the science of jurisprudence and argumentation and rudimentary principles and scholastic theology and such like, because you know these sciences would not enrich you, but you would busy yourself in guarding your heart and in apprehending the attribute of the soul, and removal from the entanglements of the world, and the purification of your soul from the blameworthy moral qualities, and you would busy yourself in the love of Allah the Exalted and his worship, and in being distinguished with good qualities; and not a single day or night passes upon the worshipper but that it is possible his death may occur in it.[22]

XXIV. O youth, hear from me another word and consider it, that you may find salvation. If you were informed that within a week the

21 One chapter of Book I, Quarter III of the Iḥyâ' discusses the Rule of Satan over the heart by whisperings; their meaning; and how to overcome them.

22 Cf. Translation Section viii.

Sultan would come to visit you, I know that in that time you would busy yourself only in the rectification of what you knew the sight of the Sultan would fall upon, in the matter of the clothing and the body and the house and the furnishings and other things. And now consider to what I refer, for you have understanding and a single word suffices the clever. The Apostle of Allah, Allah bless him and grant him peace, said: "Verily Allah the Exalted does not look upon your form nor upon your deeds, but he looks upon your hearts and your intentions."[1] And if you desire knowledge of the states of the heart, look in the Vitalizing of the Sciences of Religion[2] and other of my writings. This knowledge is required of all, and other knowledge is required of some,[3] except what fulfills the ordinances of Allah the Exalted; Allah grant you success that you attain it.

And the fourth (thing to do) is that you do not gather from the world more than the sufficiency of a year, as the Apostle of Allah, Allah bless him and give him peace, prepared for certain of his rooms,[4] and he said: "O Allah, make the provision of the family of Mohammed sufficient."[5] And he did not prepare that for every room, but he would prepare it for her in whose heart he knew there was weakness (of faith), but for her who was a steadfast companion, he would not prepare for her {except} the necessities of a day and a half.

XXV. O youth, truly I have written in this treatise what you have requested, and you must do what is in it; and do not forget to mention me in your righteous petitions; but the supplication you asked from me[1]

XXIV. 1 I fail to find the source of this traditional saying. It is very reminiscent of the word of I Sam. 16:7.

2 Iḥyâ', Book I of Quarter III.

3 It is impossible to translate the two Arabic expressions فرض عين and فرض كفاية with two equivalent phrases. The first is explained as "that whereof the observance is obligatory on every one, and does not become of no force in respect of some in consequence of the observance of some;" the latter is that "whereof the observance is obligatory on the collective body of the Muslims, and in consequence of the observance by some, becomes of no force in respect of the rest." Lane in AET, quoting from Tâj-el-'Aroos.

4 The reference is evidently to the time when Moḥammed lived in Medînah and his residence consisted of rooms built along the inside of the walls surrounding the whole enclosure. In each room or "house" dwelt different ones of his wives or relatives.

5 I do not find the source of this traditional saying.

XXV. 1 See Translation Section I, footnote 12.

seek in the supplications of the perfect. And recite this supplication in its times, especially at the conclusion of your prayers:

O Allah, truly I seek from thee of grace the most perfect, and of protection the most abiding, and of mercy the most encompassing, and of forgiveness its attainment, and of living the most comforting, and of life the happiest, and of beneficence the most perfect, and of blessing the most general, and of favor the sweetest, and of kindliness the most beneficial. O Allah, be for us and be not against us. O Allah, seal with happiness our appointed time and confirm in excess our hopes, and unite in forgiveness our mornings and our evenings, and bring to thy mercy our final state and what is for us, and pour out the gift of thy pardon upon our transgressions, and bestow upon us the correction of our blemishes, and make piety our provision for the journey; in thy religion is our endeavor, and upon thee is our trust and our confidence. Fix us firmly upon the path of uprightness and protect us in this world from acts necessitating regrets on the day of judgment and lighten on us the burden of the sins and bestow upon us the life of the righteous, and avert and dispel from us the evils and set free our necks and the necks of our fathers and our mothers from the fire in thy mercy, O thou Illustrious One, thou Coverer of sins, thou Gracious One, thou Forgiving One, thou Benevolent One, thou Mighty One, O Allah, O Allah, thou Most Compassionate of the Compassionate, and in Him we trust.

APPENDICES

I. APPENDED NOTES

A. AL GHAZÂLI'S "THE VITALIZING OF THE SCIENCES OF RELIGION".

Al-Ghazâli's best known work is entitled *Iḥyâ' 'Ulûm al-Dîn,* that is, *The Vitalizing of the Sciences of Religion.* It was written at some time during his period of retirement from public life, in Syria or in Palestine. The first period of his retirement was spent in Damascus, and perhaps also a later period, after his pilgrimage to Mecca; tradition says that in Damascus he composed the *Iḥyâ',* and also taught it in the school attached to the Umawi mosque. Al-Sayyid Murtaḍa[1] mentions this work first in the list of al-Ghazâli's writings for the following reasons: first, because its name heads the alphabetical list of works; second, because of its honor over other books for what it contains of the knowledge of future things; third, its world-wide fame, like the journey of the sun in its passage; so that it is said, "Though all other Muslim books should vanish and the *Iḥyâ'* remained, there would be no need of what had disappeared."

The edition of the *Iḥyâ'* published in Cairo[2] consists of four large volumes, and contains more than 1,000 closely printed pages. The first two volumes deal with the Outer Practices of Religion, acts of devotion and religious usage; the latter two with the Inner Nature of the Religious Life, the heart and its workings, good and evil. It is note-worthy that of the forty books comprising this work, thirty-seven deal with matters of experience and practice; of the others, Book One treats of Knowledge in general, Book Two treats of Dogma, and Book Forty deals with

1 *Itḥâf,* vol. i, p. 27.

2 Bulaq, 1872.

Eschatology. Inasmuch as there are frequent references in *Ayyuha 'l-Walad* to the *Iḥyâ'*, I give herewith the Table of Contents :

I. Things that Pertain to Worship

1. The Book of Knowledge
2. The Book of the Articles of Dogma
3. The Book of the Mysteries of Purity
4. The Book of the Mysteries of Prayer
5. The Book of the Mysteries of Almsgiving
6. The Book of the Mysteries of Fasting
7. The Book of the Mysteries of the Pilgrimage
8. The Book of the Ethics of Reading the Qur'ân
9. The Book of Remembrances (اذكار) and Invocations
10. The Book of the Night Watches

II. Things that Pertain to Practice

1. The Book of the Ethics of Eating
2. The Book of the Ethics of Marriage
3. The Book of the Ethics of Earnings and Livelihood
4. The Book of Things Allowed and Things Forbidden
5. The Book of the Ethics of Friendship and Brotherhood and Companionship and Social Intercourse with Various Sorts of Mankind.
6. The Book of the Ethics of the Life of Seclusion
7. The Book of the Ethics of Travel
8. The Book of the Ethics of Music and Ecstasy
9. The Book o: Enjoining Fairness and Forbidding Evil
10. The Book of the Ethics of Living as Exemplified in the Virtues of the Prophet

III. Things that Destroy the Soul

1. The Book of the Wonders of the Heart
2. The Book of the Discipline of the Soul and the Culture of Character and Treatment of the Sickness of the Heart
3. The Book of Breaking the Two Desires : Appetite and Carnal Lust
4. The Book of the Evils of the Tongue
5. The Book of the Blameworthiness of Anger, Hatred and Envy
6. The Book of the Blameworthiness of the World
7. The Book of the Blameworthiness of Greed and the Love of Wealth

8. The Book of the Blameworthiness of Worldly Dignity and Hypocrisy
9. The Book of the Blameworthiness of Pride and Conceit
10. The Book of the Blameworthiness of Wordly Vanities

IV. Things that Deliver the Soul

1. The Book of Repentance
2. The Book of Patience and Praise
3. The Book of Fear and Hope
4. The Book of Poverty and Asceticism
5. The Book of the Unity of God and of Trust
6. The Book of Love and Longing and Affability and Contentment
7. The Book of Good Intent and Sincerity and Veracity
8. The Book of Self-Examination and Self-Accounting
9. The Book of Meditation
10. The Book of the Remembrance of Death and What Follows

B. THE WONDERS OF THE HEART[1]

In the name of Allah the Compassionate, the Merciful—Praise be unto Allah,—without reaching comprehension of Whose majesty hearts and thoughts are perplexed, and at the beginning of the shedding of Whose light eyes and sight are confused—the subduer of the secrets of the hearts and the knower of the things hidden in the consciences, the one who in ordering his kingdom dispenses with advisers and assistants, the overturner of hearts, the forgiver of sins, the veiler of faults, and the dispeller of griefs; and blessing and abundant peace upon the lord of the Apostles, the unifier of the affairs of religion, and the destroyer of the circles of the apostates; and upon his family the good and pure.

The honor of man and his excellency in which he surpasses all varieties of created things consists in his aptitude for knowing Allah, praise be to Him, directly through personal experience, which in this world is his beauty and distinction and glory, and in the future is his equipment and his provision. And verily he prepares for this knowledge in his heart, not in any other of his members; and it is the heart which knows Allah and draws near to Allah and works for Allah, and strives towards Allah, and reveals what is with Allah and before Him; and verily the members are followers and servants and instruments which the heart employs and uses as a master uses his slave, and as a shepherd makes use of his sheep, and a workman his tool. The heart is the one received by Allah if it is made free from other than Allah, and it is the one curtained off by Allah if it becomes immersed in other than Allah;

1 Quarter Three of the *Iḥyâ'*, devoted to a consideration of things that Destroy the Soul, is introduced by a consideration of *The Wonders of the Heart*. I translate the Introdution and the first section of this book, because of the frequent references in *Ayyuha'l-Walad*, to the heart, the soul, the spirit and the intelligence, following the text printed in Bulaq (Cairo) 1872, and comparing it with the text in the *Itḥâf* of al-Sayyid Murtaḍa, Cairo 131/1894.

and it is the one seeking and the one conversing and the one censuring.[2] It is the heart which rejoices in nearness to Allah, and prospers if man purifies it, and it is the heart which is disappointed and miserable if he soils it and corrupts it. And when the heart is submissive in reality to Allah the Exalted, verily what acts of piety appear externally is due to its light; and when the heart is disobedient and rebels against Allah the Exalted, verily what evil deeds darken the members is due to its effect; and by its darkening and by its lightening there appear the virtues of the outer appearance, and its vices, since every vessel drips what is in it. It is the heart, which if a man knows, he knows himself, and if he knows himself, he knows his Lord; and it is the heart, of which if a man is ignorant, he is ignorant of himself, and if he is ignorant of himself he is ignorant of his Lord. And whoever is ignorant of his heart is even more ignorant of all else; since most of mankind are ignorant of their hearts and their souls, there is a device between them and their souls. Thus "Allah intervenes between a man and his heart,"[3] in such a way that He prevents him from seeing Him and considering Him and from the knowledge of His attributes and from perceiving how he is turned between [redacted], and how at one time he falls to the lowest of vile things and he is degraded to the region of the devils, and how at another he is lifted up to the noblest of noble things and is raised to the world of the angels nearest (to Allah). And whoever does not know his heart so that he watch it and rule it and observe what shines upon it and in it from the treasures of the kingdom, then he is among those of whom Allah the Exalted said, "They have forgotten Allah, so I will cause them to forget themselves; they are the evil doers".[4] And knowing the heart and the real nature of its qualities is the root of religion and the foundation of the way of the travelers.

And since we have completed the first part of this book, in the consideration of what happens externally in the way of pious acts and customs,—and this is the outer knowledge—and since we promised in the second part to explain what comes upon the heart of the qualities destructive and redeeming,—and this is the inner knowledge—it is unavoidable to offer on this matter two books: a book in explanation of the wonders of the qualities of the heart, and its innate dispositions, and a book on the way of disciplining the heart and training its innate dispositions; then after that we shall procede to the analysis of the destruc-

2 This last clause may in Arabic be read in either the active or the passive voice. MacDonald, Religious Attitude, p. 222, accepts the passive reading.

3 Qur'ân 8:24. 4 Qur'ân 59:19.

tive agencies and the redeeming agencies. And now we shall explain the wonders of the heart by way of comparisons, mentioning what will come close to causing understanding; for truly the clear explanation of the wonders of the heart and its secrets, which enter into the world of the kingdom,[5] will weary the most understanding !

The Meaning of Soul and Spirit and Heart and Intelligence,[6] *and what is intended by these names*

Know that these four names are used in these chapters, and there are few of the Savants in science who are fully masters of these words and the differences in their meanings, and their limitations and determinations; and the source of most of the mistakes is ignorance of the meaning of these names and of their sharing in a variety of meanings; so we shall explain concerning the meaning of these names whatever is connected with our purpose.

The first word, "heart", has two meanings : The first refers to the cone-shaped flesh placed in the left side of the chest; it is a special object with an interior cavity in which is dark blood and it is the fountain-head of the spirit and its source. But we do not intend now to explain its kind and condition since the purpose of the physician is connected with it, and not religious purposes. This heart is found in animals and even in the dead; and if we use the word "heart" in this book we do not mean by it that organ for it is a piece of flesh of no value and it is of the world of force[7] and sensual perception, since the animals comprehend it through the sense of sight, let alone mankind. The second refers to the transcendental heart; and this subtlety is the essence of man and what comprehends and learns and knows; and this it is which speaks and opposes, censures and holds to account.[8] It has a relationship with the physical heart; and the intelligences of most of mankind are puzzled in comprehending this relationship, since its relationship resembles the relationship of accidents to substances, and qualities to what they qualify, or the user of a tool to the tool or the thing placed to its position. And the explanation of this we guard against for two reasons : first, since it is connected with the speculative sciences and our purpose in this book is only the practical sciences; second, its demonstration demands the disclosing of the secret

5 For an explanation of the three worlds of existence, in Ghazâlî's philosophy, see MacDonald, Muslim Theology, pp. 134-136.

6 The Arabic words are عقل قلب روح نفس .

7 See footnote 5. 8 See footnote 2.

of the spirit, which is something concerning which the Apostle of Allah, Allah bless him and grant him peace, did not speak, and so no other should speak about it. And our purpose is, if we use the word "heart" in this book, to refer by it to this subtlety; and our object is to mention its qualities and states, not its reality in itself; and knowledge of the practical requires a knowledge of its qualities and states, and does not require a consideration of its reality.

The second word, "spirit", also, in what is connected with our purposes, is used in two senses : the first, a subtle substance whose source is the cavity of the physical heart and it spreads by means of the veins leading to all parts of the body; and its course in the body, and the spreading of the lights of life and touch and sight and hearing and smelling, from it to its members, resembles the spreading of the light of a lamp which is carried through the house, so that it does not reach any part of the house without that part being lighted by it. And the life is like the light spread within the walls; and the spirit is like the lamp; and the extending of the spirit and its movement within (the body) is like the movement of the lamp carried about inside the house. And when physicians use the word "spirit", they use it in this sense; it is a subtle vapour which the heat of the heart matures. And the explanation of this is not our purpose, since what is connected with it is the field of the physicians who treat the bodies; but the purpose of physicians of religion who treat the heart is to lead it into the vicinity of the Lord of the worlds, and their purpose is not connected with the explanation of this spirit, fundamentally. The second meaning is the knowing, perceiving subtlety in man, which we explained in one of the meanings of the heart, and this is what Allah the Exalted means in the saying, "Say, the spirit is my Lord's affair",[9] and it is a miraculous transcendental affair, whose real nature most of the intelligent and understanding are unable to comprehend.

The third word, "soul", also has various meanings, of which two concern our purpose. The first is that it indicates the combination of the forces of anger and of fleshly appetite in man, as we shall explain; and this is the usage employed by the Ṣûfis, since they mean by "soul", the innate combination of the blameworthy qualities in man; and they say there is no escape from combatting the soul and breaking it. And pointing to this is the saying (of the Prophet), upon him be peace, "Thy greatest enemy is thy soul which is between thy two sides."[10] The

9 Qur'ân 17:87.

10 I do not find the source of this traditional saying.

second meaning is the subtlety which we have mentioned, which is the man in reality, and it is the soul of man and his essence, but it is described in various ways according to the differences in its states. Thus if it becomes quiet and under control, and agitation vanishes from it by reason of opposition to the lusts, it is called "the tranquil soul"; Allah the Exalted said of such, "O thou tranquil soul, return unto thy Lord, well pleased, accepted."[11] And the soul in the first meaning cannot be pictured as returning to Allah the Exalted, for it is far removed from Allah and is of the party of Satan. And if its tranquility is not complete, but it is struggling with the lustful soul, and opposing it, it is called "the upbraiding soul", for it upbraids its possessor for his shortcoming in worshipping its lord. Allah the Exalted said, "I will not swear by the upbraiding soul."[12] But if it ceases to oppose and submits to and obeys the enticements of the lusts and the invitations of the Satan, it is called "the soul commanding to evil." Allah the Exalted reported concerning Joseph, upon whom be peace, and the wife of the Prince, "And I do not hold myself clear; verily the soul commands to evil."[13] But it is possible that "the soul commanding to evil" refers to the soul in the first meaning. And thus the soul in the first sense is altogether blameworthy, and the soul in the second sense is praiseworthy, since it is the very man himself, or his essence and reality, which knows Allah the Exalted and all knowable things.

The fourth word, "intelligence", similarly has various meanings which we have mentioned in the book on "Knowledge"; and in connection with our purpose it has two meanings. First, it is used in the meaning of the knowledge of the true nature of things, and is an expression to describe knowledge, whose seat is the heart. Second, it is used in the meaning of that which apprehends knowledge, and that is the heart, I mean that subtlety (of which I have spoken). And we know that every learned man has in himself an existence, a fundamental element standing by itself, and knowledge is the quality found in it; and the quality is other than the thing qualified. And the intelligence means the quality of the learned one, and also the place of apprehension, I mean, the apprending mind. This latter is meant in the saying of the Apostle, Allah bless him and grant him peace, "The first thing God created was the intelligence."[14] Knowledge is accidental; it is not conceivable it should be first of his creation; but it is necessary that the seat of knowledge (the intelligence) be created before it (knowledge) or with it, for converse with it (knowledge) is not possible. And it is reported that the Exalted

11 Qur'ân 39:27.

12 Qur'ân 55:2.

13 Qur'ân 12:53.

14 I do not find the source of this saying.

said to it (the intelligence), "Draw near," and it drew near; and again, "Turn aside," and it turned aside—a tradition.[15]

Thus there is revealed to you that the meaning of these four words is known; that is, the physical heart, the physical spirit, the lustful soul, and knowledge of science; and these four expressions are used in these four meanings; and a fifth meaning is the knowing, comprehending subtlety in man, and the four expressions in their totality come to this meaning. So there are five meanings and four expressions, and each expression has two meanings.

And most of the 'Ulema' have become confused as to the differences between these expressions and the meaning common to them all; so you see them speaking about the thoughts and they say, This is the thought of the intelligence; and, This is the thought of the spirit; and, This is the thought of the heart; and, This is the thought of the soul; and the lookeron does not understand the difference in the meaning of these names. And in order to remove the cover we have offered the explanation of these names. And when there occurs in the Qur'ân and in the Sunnah the expression "the heart", the meaning is: that in man which possesses intelligence and knows the true nature of things; and it is alluded to as "the heart" which is in the chest, because between that subtlety and that organ the heart, there is a special connection; and so, even if it (this subtlety) is connected with the other parts of the body, and used for them, yet it is connected with the body by means of the heart. So its first connection is with the heart; and it is as if the heart were its seat and its kingdom and its world and its riding animal. For this reason Sahl al-Tustari[16] likened the heart to a throne and the chest to a seat and said, "The heart is a throne and the chest is a seat." And it is not meant by this that it is the throne of Allah and His seat, because that is absurd; but the meaning is that the heart is its (the subtlety's) kingdom and the first channel for its management and its free activity, and its relation to this subtlety is like the relation of the throne and seat to Allah the Exalted. And this comparison applies only in certain respects, and its explanation is not suitable for our purpose, so we pass it by.

15 S. M., vol. VII, p. 209, quotes the tradition in full: When Allah created the intelligence, He said to it, "Draw near," and it drew near; then He said, "Turn aside," and it turned aside; He said, "I have created nothing I love more than thee; with thee I take, and with thee I give."

16 Sahl b. 'Abdallah al-Tustari, a prominent Ṣûfî, d. 896.

C. THE "WAY" OF THE MOSLEM MYSTIC

Mysticism in Islam is known best today in the practices of the Dervish orders. As a matter of fact, while these are in truth the logical fruitage of the mystical way carried to an extreme, they no more display the essence and true nature of Moslem Mysticism than did the ecstatic utterances of the companies of the prophets manifest the true meaning of prophecy,[1] nor do the extravagancies of Christian Holy Rollers or Speakers with Tongues reveal the inner verities of Christian mysticism.[2] In fact, the Dervish orders arose in the years following the death of al-Ghazâli, and are no part of the life of the Moslem mystic of the early twelfth century.[3] Here I can only briefly outline the rise of Mysticism in Islâm sufficiently to form a background for an appreciation of the attitude of al-Ghazâli.

The stream of Mysticism has its springs in the ascetic movement which arose in Islâm before the close of the second century of Moslem history. Ibn Khaldûn describes its origin as follows :

> The Way of the Ṣûfis[4] was regarded by the ancient Moslems and their illustrious men—the Companions of the Prophet, the

1 Cf. I Sam. 19:18 ff;

2 But for an opposite opinion, see Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islâm,* p. 27.

3 Ibn Khaldûn, the great Arabic historian (d. 1406) in his discussion of the Ṣûfis, does not mention these orders at all, so even in his day they must have been comparatively unimportant.

4 The Arabic word used to designate the Mystics is Ṣûfi (صوفي) probably derived from the word Ṣûf (صوف) meaning wool, and referring to the woolen garments worn by the early ascetics. The derivation preferred by most Moslems is from Ṣafa' (صفاء) etymology is unsound.

> Successors, and the generation which came from them—as the way of Truth and Salvation. To be assiduous in piety, to give up all ease for God's sake, to turn away from worldly gauds and vanities, to renounce pleasure, wealth, and power, which are the general objects of human ambition, to abandon society and to lead in seclusion a life devoted solely to the service of God—these were the fundamental principles of Ṣûfiism which prevailed among the Companions and the Moslems of old time. When, however, in the second generation and afterward worldly tastes became widely spread, and men no longer shrank from contamination, those who made piety their aim were distinguished by the title of Ṣûfis or Mutaṣawwifa (aspirants to Ṣûfiism).[5]

Al-Hujwiri[6] in his *Kashf al-Maḥjûb,* mentions among the Ṣûfis of the second century A. H., Abu Hâshim, who is almost universally accounted the first Ṣûfi after the Companions, Followers, and succeeding generation, and who founded the first monastery for Ṣûfis, in Ramleh, Palestine; Ibrahîm b. Adhem, Da'ûd al-Ṭai, Fuḍayl b. 'Iyâd, Shaqîq, and Rabî'a the first woman saint of Islam, who died in Jerusalem. Ḥasan al-Buṣri (d. 728), who is quoted by al-Ghazâli in *Ayyuha 'l-Walad,* is an even earlier ascetic, and considered by many to be the founder of the movement from which Ṣûfiism developed.

In the third century A. H. there are four names which stand high among the Ṣûfis. There are Dhû 'l-Nûn al-Muṣri (d. 860), who is by many Ṣûfis considered the primary author of their formulated doctrines; al-Junayd (d. 910), who said, "We derived Ṣûfiism from fasting and taking leave of the world and breaking familiar ties and renouncing what men deem good";[7] al-Ḥullâj (d. 922); and al-Shibli (d. 945). To show the spread of Mysticism in the Moslem world, it is interesting to note that of these four men, the first was an Egyptian, the second was from Baghdâd, the third was of Zoroastrian descent, and the fourth from Khorasan.

The Mystic life in Islam as in other religions is described as a journey. The Mystic is a traveller (سالك) journeying along a path

5 I have followed the translation of Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs,* p. 229, who has used the Beyrout edition of 1900, vol. III, p. 85.

6 Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Ali b. 'Uthmân b. 'Ali al-Ghaznawi al-Jullabi al-Hujwiri, d. 456/1064 or circa 465/1072, the author of *Kashf al-Maḥjûb,* the most ancient and celebrated Persian treatise on Ṣûfiism.

7 Quoted in Nicholson's, *A Literary History of the Arabs,* p. 230.

(طريقة) which will lead ultimately to a condition in which the soul has thrown off entirely all thought of and interest in this present world, and has attained complete absorption (فناء) in the reality of Allah. During the progress of the journey the soul passes through certain stages (مقامات) and states (احوال) The distinction between the two is explained thus: The stages are steps in the ascetic and ethical discipline of the soul, which are attained by the traveller, but are in such a relationship to each other that each stage must be fully mastered before the next higher is possible; the states are spiritual feelings and dispositions over which man has no control, a condition of joy or sorrow, elation or depression, which the heart of man attains through experience (lit. tasting ذوق) without his volition to receive or repel them. Stages are permanent in nature; that is, one is always in one or another stage of the journey. But states are transient, coming and going, leaving the traveller ever eager to experience higher states.

Al-Hujwiri thus differentiates between the two:[8]

> "Station" (مقام) denotes anyone's "standing" in the way of God, and his fulfillment of the obligations appertaining to that "station" and his keeping it until he comprehends its perfection so far as lies in a man's power. It is not possible that he should quit his "station" without fulfilling the obligations thereof. Thus, the first "station" is repentance (tawbat), then comes conversion (inabat), then renunciation (zuhd), then trust in God (tawakkul), and so on: it is not permissible that anyone should pretend to conversion without repentance, or to renunciation without conversion, or to trust in God without renunciation.
>
> "State" (حال) on the other hand, is something that descends from God into a man's heart, without his being able to repel it when it comes, or to attract it when it goes, by his own effort. Accordingly, while the term "station" denotes the way of the seeker, and his progress in the field of exertion, and his rank before God in proportion to his merit, the term "state" denotes the favour and grace which God bestows upon the heart of His servant, and which are not connected with any mortification on the latter's part. "Station" belongs to the category of acts, "state" to the category of gifts. Hence the man that has a "station" stands by his own self-mortification, whereas the man that has a "state" is dead to "self" and stands by a "state" which God creates in him.

8 Kash al-Maḥjûb. I quote the translation of Nicholson, p. 181.

Since the Way of the Mystic is personal and individual, it follows that no two Ṣûfis ever travel through identical experiences. For this reason various Ṣûfis, in mentioning the stages and states through which the soul passes, disagree widely in detail. As an example of one of the best known systems, I mention that of al-Sarrâj[9] who in his *Kitâb al-Luma'* discusses the following seven stages:

1. repentance
2. abstinence
3. renunciation
4. poverty
5. patience
6. trust in God
7. satisfaction

He also lists ten states which fall upon the traveller:

1. meditation
2. nearness to God
3. love
4. fear
5. hope
6. longing
7. intimacy
8. tranquility
9. contemplation
10. certainty

9 Abu Naṣr 'Abdallah b. 'Ali al-Sarrâj al-Tusi, d. 378/988. The *Kitâb al-Luma' fi 'l-Taṣawwuf*, translated by R. A. Nicholson, London, 1914, is perhaps the earliest book on Ṣûfiism.

Gairdner[10] mentions seven stages in terms of the condition of the soul in each, as follows :

1. The Soul Depraved
2. The Soul Accusatory
3. The Soul Inspired
4. The Soul Tranquil
5. The Soul God-satisfied
6. The Soul God-satisfying
7. The Soul Clarified and Pure.

Since the States come as the direct gift of God, they are more highly prized, and accounted more noble than either knowledge or attaining the stages. Thus al-Ghazâli [11] writes of the Ṣûfis :

> It became plain to me that it was impossible to arrive at the most important of their special qualities through instruction, but only through experience, and state, and change in personal qualities; and what a difference there is between one's knowing the definition of health and of satiety and their causes and conditions, and his being in health and satisfied .... and the physician when he is ill knows the definition of health and its causes and its remedies, although he is lacking in health. And so also is the distinction between your knowing the fact of self-restraint and its conditions and causes, and being yourself self-controlled, and cutting off your soul from the world ! And I knew right well that they were lords of states, not masters of words, and that one could not attain this by the method of knowledge, or I would have attained it; and that there remained nothing except what could not be secured through hearing and knowledge, but (only) through experience and practice.

Similarly Ibn al-'Arabi[12] said, in discussing knowledge :

> Knowledge is of three grades : first, rational, any knowledge axiomatic or as a consequence of consideration of a proof......; second, knowledge of States, to which there is no access except by experience, and the intellectual man cannot find it nor establish a proof of his cognizance (ma'rifah معرفة) of it; like

10 *The "Way" of a Mohammedan Mystic*, p. 245.

11 *al-Munqidh min al-Ḍalâl*, p. 27.

12 Muḥiyyu 'l-Dîn Muḥammed b. 'Ali Ibn al-'Arabi, born in Spain, died in Damascus in 1240, called "al-Shaykh al-Akbar" (the Grand Old Man), one of the greatest of all Moslem philosophers and Mystics. The quotation is made by the Sayyid Murtaḍa, in his Itḥâf, v. III, p. 245.

> the sweetness of honey and the bitterness of aloe and the enjoyment of sexual intercourse and emotion and longing—these are demonstrations which no one can know unless he has qualified in them and experienced them.

He then adds as the third degree of knowledge, knowledge of the secrets, which is above the realm of intelligence and the peculiar property of prophets and saints.

The ideal before the traveller, in completely organized Ṣûfîism, is to accomplish the various Stages of the Mystic way and to taste and experience the various States until he attain the highest condition of all, described variously as vanishing away (وجد), ecstacy (فناء), hearing (سمع), passion (عشق), union (وصل), and so forth, in which the traveller ceases to be a seeker (طالب) and becomes a knower or gnostic (عارف). In this state the Ṣûfi has cast off all worldly limitations and loses himself completely in contemplation of God, the ultimate verity. It is when this State is experienced that many Ṣûfis feel that ceremonial requirements, prayers and worship, and so forth, are no longer binding on them, and there occur those "ecstatic utterances" and "vehement cries" and "idle sayings" which al-Ghazâli condemns.[13]

Among Ṣûfis themselves there is difference of opinion as to whether this condition is to be considered also a transitory state, or a permanent attainment, the majority holding the former view. The nature of these utterances may be known from the following more famous sayings :

al-Bisṭâmi (d. 875) : Praise be to me !
al-Ḥallâj (d. 922) : I am the Truth !
al-Shibli (d. 945) : I am the diacritical point under the letter ba'
Khoragâni (d. 1034): I am only two years younger than God !
Ibn abi 'l-Khayr (d. 1048): Under my robe there is only God !

Often, however, these cries were utterly unintelligible sounds and exclamations, which were considered by the orthodox theologians and traditionalists as even more scandalous than intelligible, though blasphemous, sayings. Ibn-Khaldûn[14] suggests four criteria for judging them : First, if uttered by people of known goodness, they should not be

13 Section XVI Translation.

14 See footnote 3.

blamed for uttering when in ecstasy what in others would be unsuitable. Second, if they are not people of known goodness, their utterances are subject to doubt. Third, if they are people who use such language when not in ecstasy, they are certainly to be held to account. And finally, he asserts that all such utterances are on the whole undesirable and should be suppressed.

It is a long journey which Mysticism in Islam has travelled. When carried to the extreme, it leads to extravagancies and vagaries in both life and doctrine. But the early Mystics were men of ascetic piety who sought, through fasting, prayer, and renouncing what men thought good, to take leave of the world and attain to a nearness to God—the goal of the sincerely religious man in every land and nation.

II. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

Ghazâli	Europe	Islam
		Seljuks capture Merv and Naysabur 429
		Seljûks capture Balkh 432
		Tughril Bey enters Bagdad, Buwayhid dynasty falls 447
		al-Mustanẓir in Egypt, 427-487
450/1058 Born in Tûs		al-Qâ'im, Khalifa
	Philip in France 1060	Arp-Arslan succeeds Tughril;
		Niẓâm al-Mulk Wazîr and real ruler; al-Ṭabari d.
455/		Imâm al-Ḥaramayn returns from exile, 456
	Battle of Hastings 1066	

	Ghazâli	Europe	Islâm
465/	at Tûs, studied under al-Radkhâni		Malik Shah, Great Seljûk; al-Qushairi d.
	at Turjan, studied under the Imâm Abu Naṣr al-Isma'îli		
	returned to Tûs	Submission of pope at Canossa, 1076	
	at Naysabur, under Imâm al-Ḥaramayn; broke with		
470/	taqlîd		
	period of critical uncertainty		
475/			
		Hildebrand d. 1085	al-Farmadi, pupil of uncle of Ghazâli and his teacher, d. 477
	went to court of Niẓâm al-Mulk, after death of Imâm al-Ḥaramayn	Capture of Toledo, 1086	Imâm al-Ḥaramayn d. 478
480/1087		Battle of al-Zalaqa, 1087	
		Malta taken by Normans, 1090	al-Ḥasan b. Ṣabbâḥ captures Alamut, 483
	teacher in Baghdâd, 483-487		
485/			Niẓâm al-Mulk and Malik Shah assassinated
	studied theology		
	studied philosophy		

	Ghazâli	Europe	Islâm
	studied Bâṭiniyyah sects		Bargiyaruq, Great Seljûk; al-Mustaẓhir Khalîfa
	studied Ṣûfîism		al-Musta'li in Egypt 487
			al-Bakri d. 487
	left Baghdâd 488/1096		Fakhr al-Mulk, Wazîr
490/	ten years retreat	Antioch captured by Crusaders 491/1098	
	in Syria two years		Sinjar governor of Khurasan for Bargiyaruq
	taught in Damascus	Jerusalem, taken from Fatimias by Seljûks, captured by Crusaders in 1099	
	visited Alexandria, Cairo, etc.		al-Amîr in Egypt, 495
495/	returned to Baghdâd		
	returned to active life, taught in Naysabur 499	Anselm d. 1109	Bargiyaruq d. 498, Sinjar Great Seljûk, Fakhr al-Mulk Wazîr, in Nay sabur
		Tripoli captured by Crusaders	Fakhr-ul-Mulk assassinated, 500
500/	returned to Tûs, 501 (?)		
	restudied ḥadîth		al-Kîya died 504
505/1111	died in Tûs		
		Abelard in Paris 1115	
510/		Knights Templar founded in 1118	
515/			

III. TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

a.o.	all others
a.	after
A. D.	Anno Domini, Christian era
A. H.	Anno Hijira, Moslem era
b.	before
c., cc.	chapter, chapters
cf.	compare
corr'd.	corrected
corr'n.	correction
d.	died
dist.	text disturbed, blurred, or indistinct
f., ff.	following
gl.	gloss
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
hom.	homoeoteleuton
ins.	insert(s)
intra.	intralinear, intralineally
l., ll.	line, lines
lit.	literally
mg.	margin, marginal(ly)

MS., MSS.	manuscript, manuscripts
obs.	obscure
om.	omit(s), omitted
orig.	original(ly)
p., pp.	page, pages
pl.	plural
pref.	prefix(es)
prob.	probable, probably
rd., rding.	read(s), reading
rep.	repeat(s)
S. M.	Sayyid Murtaḍa, Ithâf Al-Sâdah
subl.	sublinear, sublineally
supral.	supralinear, supralineally
tr.	transpose(s), transposition
transl.	translinear, translineally
v., vv.,	volume, volumes
var.	variant(s)
w. t.	with text
w., ww.	words
( )	implied by text or interjected by the translator
[ ]	glosses added to text
{ }	added from text of other MSS.

Dates are frequently referred to in both the Moslem and Christian eras, thus : 505/1111, in which the date in the Moslem era is given first.

Books listed in the Bibliography are referred to by the name of the author, or the name of the author and letters indicating a particular work of several by him, thus : Macdonald, JAOS.

IV. CROSS-REFERENCE KEY TO THE ARABIC TEXT AND THE TRANSLATION

The Translation	*The Arabic Text*
Section I	f. 92b. l. 1
II	f. 92b. l. 15
III	f. 93a. l. 2
IV	f. 93a. l. 5
V	f. 93a. l. 13
VI	f. 93b. l. 12
VII	f. 94a. l. 2
VIII	f. 94a. l. 6
IX	f. 94a. l. 7
X	f. 94a. l. 13
XI	f. 94a. l. 15
XII	f. 94b. l. 4
XIII	f. 94b. l. 8
XIV	f. 94b. l. 15
XV	f. 94b. l. 19
XVI	f. 95a. l. 4
XVII	f. 95a. l. 14
XVIII	f. 95b. l. 4
XIX	f. 96a. l. 17
XX	f. 97a. l. 5
XXI	f. 97a. l. 6
XXII	f. 97a. l. 10
XXIII	f. 97a. l. 12
XXIV	f. 99a. l. 3
XXV	f. 99a. l. 12

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